John Kurzweil *on* Elian Gonzalez and The Evil Party

CALIFORNIA ★ POLITICAL
REVIEW
MAY/JUNE 2000 • VOLUME 11 • NUMBER 3 • $4.00

GAS TAX SPECIAL REPORT

Democrats to California Drivers:
Drop Dead

by Tony Strickland

and John E. Stoos on
The People vs. the Democrats

A Communist Dragon Challenges the West

by Leon S. McKinney

Pigs at the Trough

Another year, another Democrat state budget feeding frenzy

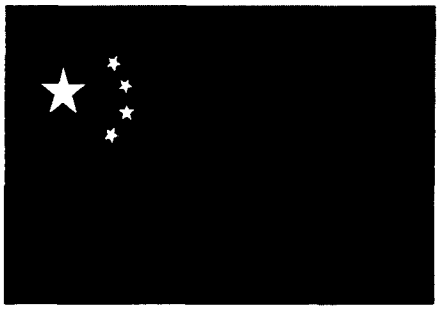
by Ray Haynes

www.cppf.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Western Conservative Conference

June 9-10-11, 2000



Hacienda Hotel, Los Angeles, California

The Red China Threat to the USA

Conference Co-Chairmen: State Senator Ray Haynes & Assemblyman Steve Baldwin

Confirmed Speakers: Assemblyman Steve Baldwin, Dr. Tomas Cabal, Dr. Roger Canfield, Richard A. Delgaudio, Senator Ray Haynes, John Stoos, Sergio Picchio, Jamey R. Wheeler

Panels Include: A Salute to Conservative Talk Radio, Red China at the Panama Canal, Red China Threat to the USA, Prayer Breakfast for Christian Victims of Communism Behind the Bamboo Curtain, China's modernizing military-- designed in the USA, China plans for War, American Missile defenses, National Security vs Free Trade, China's Strategic Chokeholds and Beachheads, Chinese Espionage, China's Labor Policies & Human Rights

Organized by the California Political Review in conjunction with:

PRIMARY SPONSORS: California Republican Assembly (Sergio Picchio, President), California Political Review (John Kurzweil, Editor/Publisher), Christian Action Network (Martin Mawyer, President), Fortress America (Jamey Wheeler, President), Legal Affairs Council (Don Derham, Chairman), Name Exchange (Clarence Lyles, Mailing List Broker), National Security Center (Richard A. Delgaudio, President), U.S. Intelligence Council (Dr. Roger Canfield, Executive Director), U.S. Justice Foundation (Gary Kreep, Executive Director), Young Americans for Freedom; SPONSORS: Kimco Business Resources (Mike Centanni, President); CO-SPONSORS: American Conservative Union (David A. Keene, Chairman) Military Magazine (Michael Mark, Editor); CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN: Richard A. Delgaudio

Free autographed copy for all conference participants: China Doll: Clinton-Gore and the Selling of the U.S. Presidency, by Dr. Roger Canfield and Richard A. Delgaudio, and Peril in Panama, by Richard A. Delgaudio.

Registration Form

CPR

Mail to (and make check payable to): Western Conservative Conference
c/o Executive Dynamics * 3918 Prosperity Ave., Suite 215 * Fairfax, VA 22031
Conference Administrator, Elaine Oliver * 703/876-5850
For Hotel Reservations call: Hacienda, 800/421-5900, special $70.20 (first come first served)

☐**$98** (includes 5 meals) ☐ **$68** student rate ☐ **$10** student rate (without meals)
$_____ Donation enclosed to help publicize and run this conference
☐Primary Sponsor $2500 ☐Sponsor $1000 ☐Co-Sponsor $250

☐Mr. ☐Mrs.
☐Miss ☐Mr. & Mrs. ☐Mz._____

Address_____

Phone_____ Area Code_____ E-Mail_____

Conference Registration Friday 6/9/00 5 to 7 PM, Reception 7 to 8, dinner 8 PM; Breakfast Sat. 9 AM, panels 10 to 12 noon, Luncheon 12 Noon, Panels 1 to 5 PM, Co-sponsor receptions 5 to 7, conference reception 7, dinner at 8 PM; Sunday Brunch at 12 noon, conference panels until 3, conference adjourns.. The Hacienda operates a free shuttle to and from Los Angeles Airport.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

MAY/JUNE 2000 • VOLUME 11 • NUMBER 3

FEATURES

COVER ARTICLE: A Communist Dragon Challenges the West By Leon S. McKinney 23
Re-inventing the Cold War: How Chinese communists and our president restored the threat of The Bomb.

Pigs at the Trough By Ray Haynes 11
Another year, another Democrat state budget feeding frenzy. Taxpayers ignored, students and the poor ill-served, the bureaucrats triumphant. How should Republicans respond?

SPECIAL REPORT: The Gas Tax 17

Democrats to California Drivers: Drop Dead ! By Tony Strickland
Tax-addiction reality catches up with phony "compassion" rhetoric.

The People vs. the Democrats By John E. Stoos
Are pro-tax hardliners creating a new "People's Tax Revolt"?

Quality Gap By Carl Brodt 21
Bureaucrats worrying about a spending gap should consider instead the gap in educational achievement.

The Evil Party By John Kurzweil 28
Dismayed liberals denounce the "lawless" Elian kidnapping — but they'll get over it soon.

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence 2
Sacramento Spectator 3
The Law By Mark S. Pulliam 4
Facts about Gun Control By Sam Paredes 6
The Working Press By Tim W. Ferguson 8
Midnight Economist By William R. Allen 9

ARTS & CULTURE

Criticus By G.B. Tennyson 32

Say It Isn't So — How much of what you know is wrong? How history plays "telephone" — sometimes innocently, sometimes not — with terms, well-known phrases, images, and ideas, so they come to us transformed, misunderstood, even turned on their heads.

A PUBLICATION OF THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

A PUBLICATION OF THE
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC POLICY FOUNDATION

JOHN KURZWEIL
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JAN EDWARDS
MANAGING EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
DAN BRENNAN
LEON S. MCKINNEY • *WASHINGTON LETTER*
RICHARD FERRIER • *ACADEME*
STEVE BALDWIN • *EDUCATION*
MARK S. PULLIAM • *LEGAL ISSUES CORRESPONDENT*
WILLIAM R. ALLEN • *ECONOMICS CORRESPONDENT*
TIM W. FERGUSON • *THE WORKING PRESS*
RICHARD MORGAN • *POET LAUREATE*
DAVID FAUSTMAN • *BOOKS*

GENE FOLEY • *BUSINESS MANAGER*
PAUL MCCAULEY • *BUSINESS SERVICES*
SHAWN STEEL • *LEGAL ADVISOR*

EDITORIAL BOARD

JOSEPH FARAH, PETER HANNAFORD,
HAROLD JOHNSON, MANUEL S. KLAUSNER,
WILLIAM RUSHER, WILLIAM E. SARACINO,
G. B. TENNYSON

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly by the California Public Policy Foundation. Send address changes, manuscripts, and Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931. Correspondence may be condensed due to space limitations. Unsolicited manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Signed articles express their authors' opinions and do not necessarily reflect the views of the California Public Policy Foundation which does not endorse or oppose candidates or intervene in any candidate election campaign. Unsigned editorials express the editors' opinions and not necessarily the views of the California Public Policy Foundation. Rates: $24 yearly (six issues). Outside U.S. add $4 per year surface, $20 for airmail. *California Political Review* is copyright © 2000 by the California Public Policy Foundation.

California Political Review (ISSN 1075-3079) is published bimonthly for $24 per year by the California Public Policy Foundation, 15456 Ventura Blvd., Suite 300, Sherman Oaks, CA 91403. Periodical Postage Paid at Van Nuys, CA, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *California Political Review*, P.O. Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931.

CORRESPONDENCE

Proposition 22

Congratulations to James Bemis ("Restating the Obvious, Preserving the Normal," *CPR*, March/April) for his explanation of the bedrock issue beneath the Protection of Marriage Act: that historically, any special status accorded the family is simply society's way of recognizing, encouraging, and preserving the family as a civilizing institution. Healthy, free societies require a certain degree of unselfishness, sometimes a lot of unselfishness when the temptation is strong to trample your neighbor's freedom. Just now, for instance, a lot of Republicans who should know better, including Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, are promoting a short-sighted initiative to serve the selfish interests of some large businesses at the expense of all of us, particularly homeowners. I mean the *new* "Proposition 26" aimed at the November ballot that would make it easier to pass local government bonds. Certain greedy businesses expect to make more money by these bonds and are evidently too selfish to see or care that more government debt on top of the already ridiculously high levels of borrowing we already have is foolish and dangerous for the general interests of all Californians. They also seem not to care that homeowners are likely to suffer property tax increases. They see only a better bottom line for themselves. This is what, carried on long enough, brings down free societies.

And the family counteracts exactly this sort of perennial temptation, thus strengthening our free society, by teaching unselfishness. Fathers, mothers, children all must learn to curb their own selfish desires in recognition of their membership in, dependence upon, and gratitude for a larger *something* than themselves. The attack on the family that Proposition 22 counteracts is only part of a larger ongoing campaign promoting self-centeredness. This campaign recognizes in the family one of its primary opponents and so works to undermine it, by blurring its definition and by trying to disconnect its special status from the critically important *reasons* for that status: that the family prepares us to shoulder our responsibilities to the larger group — the human family — to which we belong and owe so much.

I see nothing complicated in this, but I have found this central point made only in Mr. Bemis's article. Why are the most sensible and compelling arguments for conservative positions so often ignored in the major campaigns where they would have the most effect? I suppose I'd have to be a professional consultant with years of extensive experience to answer that.

Jackie Williamson
Canoga Park

School Kid's Poem

To the creative mind that wrote "A School Kid's Poem" (*CPR*, March/April), whoever you are, thanks. Like the picture of the Clinton/Castro thugs shoving a machine gun in Elian Gonzalez's face, the poem vividly conveys at a glance the often scary truth behind the media whitewash of liberalism in action in our government and in our schools. Conservatives criticize liberals' "double standard," but I see a single liberal standard: anything that is *of* our traditional American culture is bad; so is anything that tends to uphold that culture. And anything that tends to destroy the culture is good. Religion, parents' rights, dictators, politicized judges — everything can be bad or good, depending completely on its effect in this regard. Their consistent rule is: hate our heritage.

Francis Harvey
San Diego

CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Though 'tis barely May the wrangling & wrestling related to the state budget have already started. The best estimates are that the state surplus will reach $12 billion. In other words, our taxpayers gave the state government $12 billion more than it needed.

Time for a tax break you say? You obviously haven't been paying attention either to the Democrats — for whom *no* amount of tax money is *ever* enough, literally, to justify cutting taxes — or to the Republicans, for whom *no* issue is important enough actually to stand and fight over and anger their "friends" across the aisle.

The Senate GOP is irrelevant in these discussions because Democrats have 25 of the 27 votes they need to pass a budget. And regardless of Ross Johnson's and Jim Brulte's best efforts, you have GOP members like Bruce McPherson so eager to lend their budget vote to the tax-and-spend Democrats they don't even wait to hear the offer: they actually approach the Democrats and pro-actively promise them a "yes" vote on the budget. After all, what is fairness to taxpayers compared to a "Bruce McPherson mini-park" in his district?

But the weakness within the Assembly GOP is more troubling. If they hung together, the GOP caucus would leave the Democrats five votes short of the 54 needed to pass a budget. Given Governor Davis's mania for "on time" budgets and "bipartisan" legislating, a solid GOP phalanx would, without a doubt, be able to force concessions on taxes from Assembly Democrats.

But it won't happen because of the "creeping Quislingism" that has spread from jello-spined McPherson in the Senate over to infect the GOP Assembly Caucus. GOP leader Baugh starts with a five-vote margin. It is whispered in the stylish soirees and elite eateries frequented by your Spectator (only in the interest of news mongering, of course) that GOP Assemblymembers Charlene Zettel, Abel Maldonaldo, and Dick Dickerson have *already* let it be known they will vote for *any* budget the Democrats propose.

If true, Baugh's margin for leverage with the Democrats is reduced to two. Given the weak-knees among the balance of his caucus, there is little doubt that two more members can be found to join the three above mentioned turncoats. And this has the ring of truth. Zettel, Maldonado, and Dickerson were among the first to desert the GOP during last year's budget deliberations.

The sad bottom line on all this is that legislative Republicans will have participated in a budget process that included a $12 billion surplus and not one penny of it will have been returned to the taxpayer.

And so, despite the hard work of both houses' genuinely conservative leadership and only because of a few "Republicans" unwilling to stand by their Party's core principles, the message to California voters will almost surely be that electing Republicans to office does nothing to protect taxpayers. Having already told pro-lifers and pro-gunners they are not wanted in the new Republican "big tent," the same message now will go to tax-cut activists. And come November these same Republican legislators will wonder why their grass roots have withered away and died.

— A. P. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LAW

'My Way or the Highway'

Gray Davis's unusual manner of winning friends and influencing people provides some useful cover for beleaguered Republicans.

MARK S. PULLIAM

CONSERVATIVES SHOULD thank Gray Davis for eliminating the liberal bogeyman of "threatening the independence of the judiciary" from the arsenal of partisan rhetoric used by liberals to demonize their Republican opponents. Davis has single-handedly debunked the stereotype that only right-wingers view judges as bureaucrats wearing black robes. In the process he may have removed as a campaign issue — at least in California — the GOP-controlled Senate's inhospitable attitude toward President Clinton's judicial nominees.

What did Davis do to accomplish this unlikely feat, and what was his motivation? What Davis did was bluntly — and publicly — profess that he wasn't going to repeat Governor Jerry Brown's disastrous mistake with Rose Bird. What prompted him to do so was an arrogance so pronounced, an ego so swollen, that Davis is exhibiting delusions of grandeur. Still basking in the glow of his 20 percent landslide victory over Dan Lungren and further emboldened by a massive (and growing) campaign war chest and solid polling numbers, Davis has been busy antagonizing the other branches of government.

Davis angered legislators last year when he dismissively opined that their job is to "implement my vision." On February 29, Davis carried this grandiose perspective one step further, expressing his contempt for the judiciary. In taped remarks to a group of reporters in Washington, D.C., Davis said that judges he appoints who disagree with him after taking the bench should resign. To quote him exactly, Davis said that "My appointees should reflect my views. They are not there to be independent agents. They are there to reflect the sentiments that I expressed during the campaign."

Articulating a "litmus test" that exceeds anything ever espoused by any Republican, Davis opined that if his carefully-screened judicial nominees changed their mind on issues such as the death penalty or abortion on demand (which he supports), or same sex marriage (which he opposes) after being sworn in, "I would expect them to resign." Davis reported that he has told each of his judicial nominees "that while they have to follow the law, ... they're there because I appointed them and they need to keep faith with my electoral mandate."

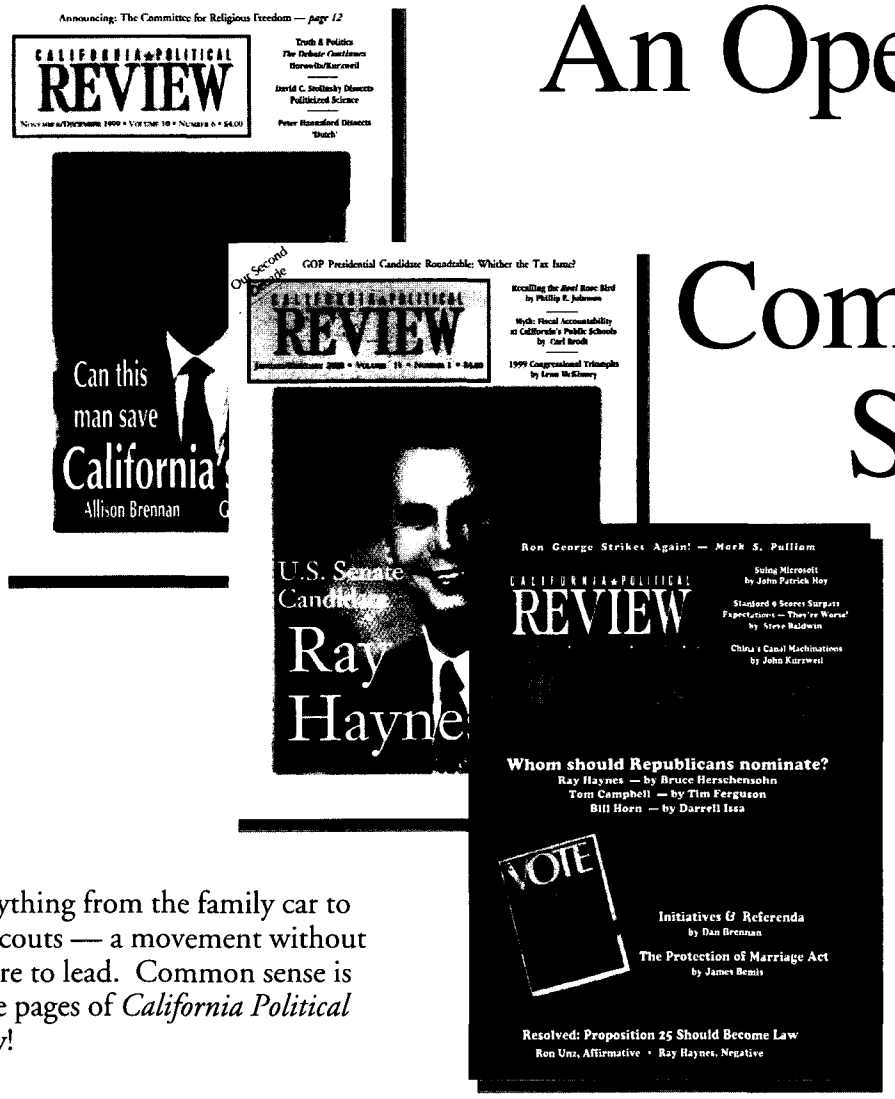
These remarks quickly elicited criticism from the usual sources, albeit muted compared to the furor that would have ensued had a Republican expressed the same sentiments. Davis is obviously preoccupied with avoiding a repetition of the Rose Bird imbroglio, which helped turn Jerry Brown's administration into a joke. And Davis *did* win in a landslide, largely by depicting himself as a "centrist." Still, his comments display an appalling ignorance of basic civics, and an even more appalling tone of condescension to the other branches of government. Judges are *not* supposed to echo the wishes of the executive branch. While judicial activism is a breach of trust and a violation of the rule of law, judges *are* supposed to make independent decisions as to what the law requires.

IN THIS instance, state Senate President pro Tem John Burton is exactly right when he grumbled that "He doesn't support an independent legislature, so why should he support an independent judiciary? It's consistent with his view that the other two branches are irrelevant." Burton also complained — and this gets back to why conservatives

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Opening for Common Sense



"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

What used to be called "liberalism" has degenerated into reflexive attacks on everything from the family car to free speech to the Boy Scouts — a movement without a mind and with nowhere to lead. Common sense is the cure — find it in the pages of *California Political Review*. Subscribe today!

I can't tell you how impressed I am with California Political Review. — **William A. Rusher**

California Political Review is filling a critical need in the Golden State. — **Bruce Herschensohn**

Send me a full year of *California Political Review* (SIX bimonthly issues) for the special NEW SUBSCRIBER rate of just $14.95 — more than 40% off the cover price! ___ Check (payable to the California Public Policy Foundation) ___ Credit Card: ___ MC ___ Visa

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____ Signature _____

Call: 1-800-887-7676

or send this form to the address below. Thank you.

Name _____
Please Print
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW

Must reading for informed Conservatives

California Political Review, P.O. Box 931 Camarillo, California 93011-0931, *www.cppf.org*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be thanking Davis for his supercilious pronouncement — that "I think we could abolish state government and let him run it by fiat. The only people I've heard had judicial litmus tests are the right-wing Republicans." This charge is false, of course, but it is (or had been, up to now) a standard canard in the bag of left-wing demagoguery. If a Republican says he will appoint only judges committed to reversing *Roe v. Wade,* liberals charge that this amounts to an illicit "litmus test." When Democrats pledge to appoint only judges who will "uphold a woman's right to choose" (as Davis has), this is treated as an example of principled leadership.

BUT DAVIS did more than that. He crossed the line, even for the liberals in the "chattering classes," in two ways: First, his "litmus test" deviates from the accepted liberal orthodoxy, much to the chagrin and annoyance of folks like Gerald Uelmen, the self-appointed conscience of the judiciary. Davis knows that the Achilles Heel of the Democrat Party is public safety issues, and he will never let Republicans run to his right on crime and law enforcement. Thus, he has consistently said he will appoint no judges who have personal qualms about the death penalty. The trouble is, many Democrat lawyers seeking judicial appointments, who have been frozen out of the process for 16 years during the Deukmejian and Wilson administrations, do *not* satisfy this criterion. For perhaps that reason (and also because micro-manager Davis moves at a snail's pace on all appointments), Davis has appointed only 16 Superior Court judges and four Court of Appeal justices so far, leaving 61 vacancies unfilled.

Second, Davis's recent remarks were so blatant and lacking in nuance that even the liberal partisans usually willing to overlook such matters couldn't avoid responding. "That's outrageous," USC law professor Erwin Chemerinsky declared. "A judge is not a Cabinet member who is there to carry out a governor's or a

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

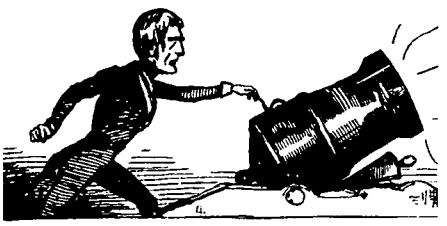
By SAM PAREDES

British-owned gun manufacturer Smith & Wesson's lamentable decision to "settle" with the Treasury and Housing and Urban Development Departments in exchange for some promised relief from government lawsuits against the firm is actually less a legal "settlement" than a nationalization of the company which, more accurately, should now be named "Clinton & Wesson." The Administration has achieved nearly every outrageous demand in its original lawsuit without proving its case in court.

The agreement creates an "Oversight Commission" to include four government officials (one from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms) and a Clinton & Wesson executive. The Clinton & Wesson commission will have legal power to enforce gun control on any gun dealer who sells Clinton & Wesson products and on any gun owner who buys from such a dealer! This is European fascism, and much more draconian than what the media has reported. The agreement stipulates:

- Gun rationing and mandatory gun owner registration,
- mandatory training requirements including dealer training,
- banning kids from gun stores.

It also gives the new Oversight Commission (and BATF) unfettered access into gun stores that sell Clinton & Wesson firearms.



The good news is that other companies, including Beretta, Browning, Glock, Ruger, and Taurus, have refused to sign the deal. Also, refusing to be blackmailed, Clinton & Wesson's largest wholesaler, accounting for 25 percent of S&W's, I mean C&W's, sales, and many other dealers and distributors have simply dropped their products. The Clinton Administration responded to these developments, first, by promising to buy Clinton & Wesson products and, second, threatening to file anti-trust actions against all their competitors.

Now the Administration is threatening to sue C&W *again* over interpretation of the agreement. This cowardly, selfish, and plain old stupid attempt to appease the alligators is bringing its own proper reward. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

president's policies." Berkeley law professor Stephen Barnett called Davis' comments "bizarre" and "deeply troubling," pointing out that Davis' views exhibit "a profound misunderstanding of our system of government and the role of judges in it." Hastings Law School professor Joseph Grodin, one of the former justices thrown off the California Supreme Court with Rose Bird in 1986, called Davis' position "astonishing and disturbing" and "truly radical." Davis was also chided by the immediate past president of the American Bar Association, who asserted that Davis' statements are "totally contrary to the notion of judicial independence and the separation of powers."

Other watchdogs of judicial independence were willing to give Davis the benefit of the doubt. California Judges Association President David Danielsen said "I suspect he was misquoted because the governor is a smart man and I can't imagine the governor saying something like that." But he did. Prompted by all this unfavorable reaction, Davis issued a press release the next day, stating that "I regret that my comments yesterday were interpreted to suggest [imagine that!] that I do not believe in an independent judiciary. Once a judge is appointed, I fully respect the independence of the judiciary as a co-equal branch of government ...." Within days, the flap disappeared from the newspapers, as if it had never happened.

Certain voices were silent during the short life of this brouhaha. The so-called "People for the American Way," whose web site brims with polemics about "the right wing attack on the independent judiciary," and which has published a monograph entitled "Clear and Present Danger: The New Far Right Judicial Litmus Test," had nothing to offer on Davis' unprecedented broadside. As recently as November 1998, former Supreme Court Justice Cruz Reynoso (also voted off the Court in 1986 with Bird) was still fulminating about how former Governor George Deukmejian — 12 years earlier — created an "atmosphere of politics" that poses a "continuing threat" to judicial independence. That sounded more like sour grapes than genuine concern for a politics-free judiciary, and, sure enough, Reynoso was nowhere to be seen when Davis attacked the judiciary in February. And California's chief justice, Ron George, who felt strongly enough about judicial independence to defend it before the Senate Judiciary Committee a year ago, had nothing to say about Davis' intemperate comments — until Davis "clarified" them. Then, George issued a tepid, prepared statement announcing that he "appreciated" the clarification.

All of this should be kept in mind the next time a liberal lynch mob forms over a Republican "assault on the independence of the judiciary." After all, our Democrat governor believes that it's "my way or the highway." How can you top that? CPR

Visit *CPR online*
at
www.cppf.org

for between-issues updates from *Sacramento Spectator,*
news from CPPF's Committee for Religious Freeedom,
links to California conservative sites & to download *CPR* articles

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WORKING PRESS

Taxpayers, Look Out!

If this was a suburban, white-bread turn-out, why were Republicans' numbers so small?

TIM W. FERGUSON

MOST OF the pundits agreed that March's was a suburban whitebread turnout. If that's so, look out. About the only good news for taxpayers was the narrow defeat of the school bond proposition, which the savvy lefties at the *LA Weekly* had identified before the vote as the most important thing on the ballot. (Of course, the educationists will be back with another try.) But as the *Weekly's* Harold Meyerson, writing amid his progressive publication's laser hair-removal and "'latex fashion" ads, was able to gloat, "The single most remarkable thing about last week's election returns is how mournful the GOP's numbers were, how ghastly the Republicans' prospects appeared, even with an electorate that was more conservative than any in years." He was particularly enthused about how Democrats in many competitive districts, such as Jim Rogan's, fared strongly even with the tide against them. And within the Demo ranks, the *Weekly's* friends in the union halls were able to dictate the choices in several contested races.

Republicans did score a double hit with repeal of the trial lawyers' "uninsured motorist" lawsuit gambit. The *Los Angeles Times* was quick to spot this use of the referendum method as a way that conservatives might use the ballot to undo other acts of California's one-party government. Seems voters are more inclined to vote no than yes on hotly fought propositions, so the adage "it's how you ask the question" applies.

The California Taxpayers Association *[sic]* spent its election resources advising votes against campaign reform and for water-pork bonds. How fortunate that the defeat of the Unz initiative will allow such a worthy lobby to continue to wield its influence. With state Republican Party honchos also taking a dive on the school-bond push, it was left to a few lonely newspapers and the Libertarians to help the Jarvis remnant hold the line ... for now.

One of those lonelies, the *Orange County Register* (circ. 300,000-plus) did not qualify as a major publication in the eyes of the opponents of the marriage proposition, who broadcast that every big paper in the state was with them. In fact, the *Register* and the smaller *Los Angeles Daily News* urged a "yes" vote on what the once right-wing *San Diego Union* called a "largely anti-gay referendum." In the days after the landslide result, *San Francisco Examiner* columnist Stephanie Salter was bravely exulting that 2.6 million Californians, a few of whom live outside her circulation area, bucked Proposition 22's statewide mandate. *Los Angeles Times* local columnist Shawn Hubler was incensed enough to admit Catholicism in the course of "Why Was My Church on the Side of the Homophobe." No publication stopped to ponder how widely the press consensus was at variance with the people. But then, as any reporter with a speed dial to Spencer Roberts or Allan Hoffenblum could tell you, Election Day was all about the religious right.

Actually, despite a pre-election *New York Times* headline on the front page that said the marriage measure "roils California," (the story said it "has galvanized gay and lesbian groups") the recriminations on the left afterward included the frequent lament that the base had sat on its hands. Never mind — Sen. Sheila Kuehl will take care of things in the Legislature.

The *Register's* avowedly non-ideological news department was, of course, in mourning over the school-bond loss that the paper's editorialists had urged. Its post-election story, "Educators lament failure of Prop. 26," began with the rote lead paragraph about a dripping ceiling. The story included a mysterious passage that read, "But other school officials question why it only takes a simple majority for most other public decisions, such as improving libraries." If those school officials were offered extra pay to attend a class on the subject, the way their education usually works, they might be interested in learning what bond issues and special taxes are, and why they require (still) a two-thirds vote.

The only statewide bond to go down was one for police labs, a seemingly mystifying result given the cop-

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

friendly makeup of the electorate. That is, until you consider (as no coverage apparently did) that the legislative sponsors of this proposition insisted on calling it "The Hertzberg-Polanco Crime Laboratories Construction Bond." No wonder!

Oh, yeah: the presidential primary. In the reams of copy leading up to that, one bit from the Straight Talk Express in the *San Francisco Examiner* distinguished itself for a "what, us biased?" award: "At one point in the wide-ranging discussion, McCain blasted the League of Women Voters for being a 'bunch of liberals' before he was corrected by a reporter about the organization's non-partisan mission. McCain said he was confusing the group with the environmental activist League of Conservation Voters." Right the first time, Luke Skywalker.

♣ ♣ ♣

Every Sacramento columnist worth his salt was writing about the tug-of-war between Gray Davis and his allies to the left, both in the Legislature and the lobbies. Particularly interesting is the tussling with the California Teachers Association. If this actually leads to some November ballot fireworks over a pay-raise proposition (in the midst of the CTA's *jihad* against the latest voucher initiative), we will know the squabble is for real. In the meantime, there was hope that in Davis, ironically enough, the most powerful union in modern California history might finally have met its match.

♣ ♣ ♣

If you lived anywhere within delivery range of a *Los Angeles Times* printing plant, you couldn't miss the news that the Tribune Co. of Chicago bought the paper. This was the occasion for *Times* journalists doing what they love to do most: write at great length about their journalistic mission and how it was compromised to suit the bottom line. Page after page of reporting and analysis of the sale and how, according to one front-page headline, it "Stirs a City's Emotions." Plenty of opportunity anew here for encomia to Otis Chandler, who, somewhere between spotty college days at Stanford and an early retirement in 1980 to surf and collect cars, became a God-like figure in American newsrooms. His strife-torn progeny kept his picture close to their bosoms as they waged a daily battle with their benighted corporate managers — only to have Otis acquiesce in selling them to the Midwest men. Woe upon woe! One subscriber had his fill. "This does not mean your long-suffering readers wish to see daily philosophizing about the deeper meaning of this business transaction," he wrote to the editor. "You're not nearly as important as you think you are. Just self-important." CPR

THE MIDNIGHT ECONOMIST

Labor Unions: Rights, Free Riders, And Public Employees

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

RECENT TIMES have not been entirely happy for labor unions. During the decade after World War II, a third of the labor force was unionized; during the 1990s, union membership was about 12 percent.

But, along with frustrations and defeats, unions have had some successes. While steelworkers and garment workers have seen their union memberships fall drastically since the 1970s, public employee unions — federal, state, and county — have expanded greatly. Unionization has infiltrated even university campuses. (The University of California faculty has not yet been seduced, but recently the graduate student Teaching Assistants became United Auto Workers!)

Whether labor unions in general or public employee unions in particular are, on balance, good things is a considerable question. It is worth some brief but basic meditations of orientation.

Everyone but the anarchist agrees that there is a legitimate role of government. For there to be govern-

William R. Allen, meditating in the UCLA Department of Economics, gratefully acknowledges the useful research and analyses of many students of unions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment, there must be some degree of some kinds of coercion. In our political heritage, the coercive powers of government are to be severely delimited. Still, powers of government must exist if governed society is to exist. Characteristically, those powers are exercised on the basis of majority vote, and dissenting voters cannot chose not to be represented by those who win elections.

Some argue that majority vote also legitimately establishes coercive powers of labor unions. If a majority of employees of a firm vote to be represented by a particular union, then dissenting employees cannot choose *not* to be represented by that union.

But, as Professor Charles Baird and others have noted, *unions are not governments.* They are private associations of people in their private capacities. The essence of government is that its services — however delimited — are uniformly provided to, and universally supported by, the citizenry. The essence of private associations is voluntarism: people are free to join or not to join. Freedom of association precludes coercion.

Still, to the extent there may be gains to workers from activities of a union, we have the "free rider" issue: all affected workers benefit, so it is not appropriate that all workers pay union dues? There are problems in the free-rider argument.

First, the situation is not unique to unions: in our interrelations, everyone receives numerous benefits for which he does not pay. There are spillover benefits to the community from various associations — churches, clubs, teams — which no one is required to join or support. And I benefit from your good manners, your well-kept lawn, your well-kept wife. But I am not forced to contribute to meeting your expenses. Why should I be forced to help finance a union, which may not be as attractive to me as your smile, your lawn, or your wife?

Second, those who fret about *free* rides might concern themselves also with *forced* rides. If it is reprehensible to receive unsolicited gains without paying, why is it acceptable to force payments when the supposed gains are not only unsolicited but may be unappreciated? I may consider the gains from the union to be less than the union dues; indeed, I may assign *negative* value to the union's activities. Then, where is justice in forcing my affiliation with the union?

Finally, I may be dubious not only of the value of the union for me, but also of the value of unionization for the economy. Unions are institutionalized agreements among sellers of labor services not to compete with each other. They are avowedly instruments of collusion. Cartelization of business firms not only is illegal but almost always is ineffective. But union cartelization, promoted by government, can be truly subversive of the market — to the detriment of the community generally.

In short, the free-rider argument for coercing membership in unions is both philosophically unacceptable and theoretically confused.

GOVERNMENT HAS granted significant privileges of collective bargaining and of striking to unions in the private sector. Whatever the justifications of such power for private sector unions, they are not appropriately applied to public sector unions. Sharp distinctions are to be drawn between "private" and "public" unions.

First, employees in the private sector are paid from earned business receipts, while government employees are paid from coerced, non-optional payments. If public unions are granted mandatory collective bargaining and permission to strike or to use compulsory arbitration, then wage rates are determined by negotiations with unions; and if tax revenues are currently inadequate to pay for negotiated wages, taxes are raised — and effective taxpayer control over aggregate taxes disappears.

Second, compulsory public union affiliation and exclusive representation are inconsistent with a government "of, by, and for" all the people. No group may properly monopolize access to government or representation of other citizens in dealing with government.

Third, in the private sector, customers do not pay for output not produced during strikes, but do pay taxes even when government services are not rendered.

Fourth, most government services, in contrast to private sector goods, cannot be readily supplied by substitute producers, either because of their nature or, more commonly, because of imposed state monopolization. To permit suspension by strike of police services, in particular, is to question the very necessity of government.

Fifth, since government is largely a monopolist in providing its services and obtains its receipts mainly through obligatory taxes, government managers, interested largely in the short-term, are more inclined than private sector managers to meet union demands to any extent necessary to avoid, or quickly settle, strikes.

Last, denying collective bargaining and strikes to public employees recognizes their special position. Necessarily, people in government exercise unique authority in collecting and spending taxes and in regulating activity — and, to protect the rest of the community, that calls for special restrictions on their behavior.

Public unions, with the ultimate permission to strike, are repugnant to, and seemingly incompatible with, the individualistic, decentralized society. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pigs at the Trough

Another year, another Democrat state budget feeding frenzy. Taxpayers ignored, students and the poor ill-served, the bureaucrats triumphant. How should Republicans respond?

by Ray Haynes

I'm jist a girl who cain't say no
I'm in a turrible fix
I always say "come on, le's go"
Jist when I orta say nix

I'm jist a fool when lights are low
I cain't be prissy or quaint
I ain't the type that can faint
How c'n I be whut I ain't?
I cain't say no.

Ado Annie, Oklahoma

YOU MAY ask what Ado Annie's problem, set to music by Rodgers and Hammerstein, has to do with with this year's state government budget. Well, I was sitting in a budget subcommittee meeting the other day, listening to some bureaucrats explain why they needed more employees in their department. This department, understand, already has a vacancy rate of about 13 percent, and they spent the savings they received from not hiring new employees on a new computer system. Now they were complaining that they didn't have enough employees, so they asked for more — nine more, as a matter of fact. Instead of saying no, the subcommittee chairman, Senator Hilda Solis, not only gave the department the requested nine new employees, she also added three more, stressing for the subcommittee the importance she attached to insuring that this bureaucracy have enough employees to do its job. As I listened to the discussion, Ado Annie's song kept coming to mind. When it comes to spending, Senator Solis just cain't say no.

Of course, she's a Democrat. Fish gotta swim, birds gotta fly, Democrats gotta spend. It's in their genes. They cain't be wut they ain't. They cain't say no to Big Government. Only two things restrain them: lack of revenue and fear of the political consequences of a tax increase. And these days, with government revenue coming in at record rates, they get their bigger

---

Republican Whip Ray Haynes, a member of the state Senate Budget Committee, represents California's 36th state Senate District (Riverside).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government without political consequences. Every time the governor or the legislative analyst makes a revenue prediction, it is revised upward by a billion or two within a couple of months. Last June, the Legislative Analyst's Office (LAO) estimated this year's revenue to be $63.2 billion. In November, the LAO estimate was $67.9 billion. Gray Davis's January estimate was $68.8 billion. The LAO just upgraded total revenues to $71 billion. Total surplus, current and budget year, is $12 billion. That's more than the entire budget of the state of Colorado. Such amounts are staggering.

TRUE TO form, our Democrat friends in the Legislature want to spend that money. More disgusting, however, is the line of adults, who use children as their excuse to take your tax dollars. These special interest groups that make money from the budget are lining up at the trough, placing their snouts firmly within, rooting out every last dollar, at taxpayer expense. The Democrats, like farmers preparing the pigs for the slaughterhouse, obligingly hand out the dollars, gleefully squealing along with their counterparts in the trough about the *important* projects for children, for seniors, for the environment, for [insert interest group here] they *finally* get to fund. No tax cuts are proposed by these happy spendthrifts; the taxpayers would just waste the money. Record revenue collections are always evidence of the need for more government, never of a need to lower taxes.

An Historical Perspective

In 1991, the state government faced a $14 billion "deficit." Mind you, the deficit was not created because the state was going to receive $14 billion less in 1991 than in 1990. It was a deficit because the Legislature's spendthrift ways of the 1980s finally ran into a slowing economy. The Reagan tax cuts of 1981 led to enormous economic growth and, as Reagan predicted, also to record tax collections. Even though revenue increased at approximately 10 percent per year — doubling the size of state government in the 1980s — automatic spending increases, built in by law in the various social programs like welfare, made it look like we weren't keeping up with our "needs" in California, creating a perceived (though not actual) deficit.

The 1989 Savings and Loan collapse, caused by increased government regulation of the industry, combined with the Gulf War (which withdrew 500,000 working age adults from the economy), the withdrawal of West German capital from the United States to rebuild East Germany, and the federal tax increase of 1990 caused the slowdowns of 1991 and 1992.

The state Legislature, however, didn't want to stop increasing its spending. According to the automatic spending increase formula that had been created, the state was scheduled to spend $52 billion in 1991-92. But the state *had* only $38 billion in its coffers at the time, so a $14 billion "deficit" was declared. The "solution" chosen was a $45 billion budget that increased taxes $7 billion and "cut" spending $7 billion — even though actual spending still increased with relation to the previous year's spending.

During the 1991-92 budget year, the state actually spent $43 billion, but brought in only $42 billion, borrowing the difference. In the 1992-93 budget year, the state collected $40.9 billion, the first time since 1962 that the state actually received less money than it had the previous year. Coincidentally, that is the same year the tax increase took effect for the full fiscal year. Interestingly enough, spending actually decreased the next two years, as revenues continued their decline through 1994. In the 1993-94 budget year, revenue again dropped to $40.1 billion, and spending actually decreased to $38 billion (the state had to pay off what it had borrowed in 1991-92). So, after a $7 billion tax increase and three years, the state was actually spending less than it had before the increase because that increase hurt the economy, reducing tax collections.

2

By 1994, 1991's tax increases had begun to expire. Also that year, Republicans won a majority of seats in the state Assembly and began to cut taxes. Business taxes were cut slightly in 1996 and 1997, and the vehicle license fee (car tax) was cut in 1998, the reduction taking effect

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slowly over the last two years. Again, interestingly enough, the last three years, as the Legislature has cut taxes, revenue has exploded. And spending has of course exploded also, keeping full pace with revenues. When it raised taxes, the economy, and revenue, dropped. When it cut taxes, the economy and revenue exploded, again just as Reagan had predicted.

So far, calculating from the 1991 tax increase, the score is: bureaucrats and big spenders $28 billion in spending increases/taxpayers $3 billion in tax cuts. In the last five years, the surplus has totaled about $20 billion dollars. Five years ago, budget forecasters thought this year would bring us approximately $50 billion; we are at $70 billion.

Calculating from 1991, the score is: bureaucrats and big spenders $28 billion in spending increases/taxpayers $3 billion in tax cuts.

IN ADDITION to all of this, in 1998, the Legislature convinced voters we were facing a school construction crisis, causing the voters to approve a $9 billion bond. In March of 2000, the Democrats joined with the Chamber of Commerce to push an additional $5 billion in bonds for everything from legislative pork projects to libraries that will stay open 15 or 20 hours a week. The same two culprits tried to convince the voters to make it easier to pass bonds at the local level, a change that would have forced local tax increases. The voters approved almost all the state bonds, but (just barely) refused to change the local vote requirement for bonds. The proponents of this failed initiative have already said they'll try again in November, this time with Gray Davis pledging his active support. The developers and big business in California, who would scream bloody murder if someone tried to raise their taxes, happily joined with the socialists in the Legislature to pass on the cost of big government to homeowners throughout the state.

All in all, over the last five years, there has been more than enough money to pay for everything the left has wanted, and then some, but it has still not been enough to satisfy them. They have begged, borrowed, stolen, threatened, and cajoled to get what they want, and they have gotten just about everything. They are planting the seeds of a monumental disaster, and there are few anywhere in California sounding the alarm.

This Year's Battle

For the first time in the last five years, LAO acknowledged in November 1999 that the budget would be in surplus. Each prior November — in 1996, 1997, and 1998 — LAO predicted shortfalls, only to be met with surpluses of $3 billion (1996-97), $4.4 billion (1997-98), and $4.9 billion (1998-99). In each of those years, responsible fiscal experts like Tom McClintock have called for tax cuts, and, in each of those years, those calls have been rejected by the left-wing majority with the claim that "we don't know how long these revenues will last." Each time, the spendthrifts in the Legislature have told the taxpayers that the revenue gains were only "temporary." Tax cuts were "irresponsible." The Legislature wasn't increasing spending, the taxpayers were told, it was just "saving for a rainy day" by putting it in the reserve. The Legislature would then save it that year, and spend it the next, building into the government spending base, creating new spending programs like the 1998 program Healthy Families California.

These revenue increases are permanent and on-going, the Legislative Analyst's Office now admits. We now know we will hit every trigger in the car tax bill (we are, this year, going to hit the dollar amount that would trigger the 55 percent car tax cut originally scheduled for the 2002-03 fiscal year). As of March, we know we have $12 billion in unallocated surpluses for the current and budget years. We know that at least $7 billion of these unallocated surpluses are permanent and on-going additions to state revenues. (Of course, as I mentioned above, calculating from revenue estimates made in 1996, the year these surpluses started, the state has *$20* billion in permanent and on-going surpluses, but we added those surpluses to our base, so they are no longer counted as surpluses). The bottom line: the state is faced with an embarrassment of riches. Even Hilda Solis can't spend the money fast enough, though she will try.

Why is our state heading for disaster? Because more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is involved in creating government programs than just meeting a "need" or solving a "problem." Government programs suffer from an inherent conflict of interest: their existence is justified by the "problems" they are created to "solve" — the greater the problem, the more justification it creates, which makes for a bigger program, more taxpayer funding, more prestige and influence, more of everything. Actually solving the problem is the worst thing that can happen to those running the program — it eliminates the need for their jobs! And unlike the private sector, where enterprises that fail to deliver results lose business, government collects taxes whether it delivers or not. In government, there is little or no check on bureaucracy's natural tendency to take on a life of its own, to seek to grow for the benefit of those who work for the bureaucracy, a tendency that is not deterred by the failure of its programs to "work," by society receiving little in return for its investment, or even by a fall-off in tax revenues. Every *new* government program *adds* to this bureaucratic pressure for more taking of wealth from those who produce it. And every new program also diminishes the private sector, which diminishes the forces that resist the transfer of wealth to the state.

Government programs suffer from an inherent conflict of interest: their existence is justified by the 'problems' they are created to 'solve.'

ALL THIS is inherently destabilizing: economically, because it tends to destroy productive peoples' incentive to produce by depriving them of the rewards they have worked to win. It is politically destabilizing because it undermines our free society premise that, as servant of the people, government should be strictly limited to a small number of clearly defined purposes. It replaces this tradition with the "Solis Ethic": the view of government as an adventure in scooping up every possible dollar to fund a never-exhausted list of "worthy" causes that otherwise would go begging; an ethic giving no thought to how the dollars are produced, to the unintended consequences of grandiouse schemes that manupulate other peoples' lives, to the realities of human nature — an ethic so narrow-minded that it sees nothing except the wealth over here, the worthy cause over there, and the idealistic liberal in the middle righteously shoveling the one at the other.

This "Solis Ethic" is also morally destabalizing. It is unjust to productive people. It breeds dependence among those it ostensibly exists to help. It breeds a bureaucratic culture of dishonesty and greed, as each arm of the state octopus strains for more funding, prestige, and power, even as each grows more distant from and unconcerned with the mission it was created to serve.

An example of this is the opposition of public employee unions to legislative Republicans' "Charitable Choice" proposals. Churches feed and clothe the poor. They provide childcare and job training services to those in need, all with resources they raise in their community. Republicans proposed Charitable Choice to recognize and bolster with some state funding these important contributions made by churches to those in need. But public employee unions opposed the proposals, convincing Senate Health and Human Services Committee Democrats also to oppose them, on grounds they would create "competition" with the government programs that give union members jobs. So what if those in need are helped by these programs in the churches? Competition with the government in the compassion department cannot be tolerated. The interests of the bureaucrats have eclipsed the people's interest in helping the poor.

All these destabilizing influences — political, economic, and moral — grow more acute as the size and sheer weight of government bureaucracy grows and as the "Solis Ethic" increasingly supplants the common sense limits America traditionally has set on the size and scope of the "coercive sector" — government.

Having said all that, it is still true, as I said earlier, that fish gotta swim, and Democrats gotta spend. One expects that from them. It only makes sense that they would claim they need the money. Like an addict needs drugs, tax dollars supply these left-wing collectivists the fix they need to survive as politicians. Their power grows with government; the interest groups they serve secure their hammerlock on California politics. More government means more gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment employees, more dues-paying public employee union members, and more contributions to Democrats. Our state government is like an addict who thinks he can control his addiction because he hasn't yet hit bottom, though he is headed that way.

BUT WHAT of Republicans? We could — we have in the past — participate in this feeding frenzy, trying to share this drug's short-term satisfaction. Perhaps, the argument goes, if Republicans feed *some* of the pigs, they will pause in their rooting to reward Republicans. A strategy, yes, maybe even a good one, if short-term political power is the goal. It makes some sense to try to divert some of the revenue-generated political advantage to Republicans so the Democrats don't use those dollars to swamp us completely. But as a substitute for a long-term political strategy, it is a recipe for irrelevancy. Historically, Republicans have set an agenda that distinguishes them from the Democrats: it points toward self-reliance, maximum economic freedom, and limited government. But that "agenda" carries little weight with voters if Republicans in fact participate in growing the government. Republicans who do not articulate an alternative vision of governance to the people of California do not deserve to be in the majority. Republicans who want long-term political success will work to end the state's addiction to tax revenue. I suggest three alternatives — one bold, one moderate, one timid — for Republicans to distinguish themselves from the Democrats and position themselves to do well in the November elections.

The Bold

We have accumulated $20 billion in surpluses since 1996. Cut taxes by that $20 billion (and cut the programs associated with those taxes) so California taxpayers carry the same burden of government in 2000 they carried in 1990. It may be more expensive government (we would still be at $52 billion in 2000 compared with $34 billion in 1990, but at least we would only be paying for government growth related to population and inflation. This proposal is not all that bold if we really aim to reduce government's role in people's lives. If I had my way, Republicans would press this proposal, but, of course, several of my friends in the Legislature (enough, if they vote with the Democrats, to approve a budget) would not hold out long enough to obtain a tax cut this size. Government spending would continue unabated. Good idea, but not practical.

The Moderate

Cut taxes $7 billion, the anticipated on-going revenue surpluses listed in the LAO's analysis. This would provide a nice bookend to the nineties for Republicans. Our anti-tax agenda was destroyed by the $7 billion tax increase of 1991. Our integrity on this issue would be restored by a principled acknowledgement of that mistake and a defense in this budget battle of a cut the same size. Good sound bite, good public relations, good policy, but also capitulating somewhat to the growth of government that occurred in the last four budget battles. This is a great idea, and one conservatives could easily rally around. It also, however, would not hold some of our more "moderate" members — whose sense of moderation gives them grave doubts about tax cuts, but somehow never seems offended by Democrat spending sprees and thus, this strategy, too, would be doomed to failure.

It is the idea most likely to ensure a Republican majority in November, and is, therefore, most likely to receive the most vitriolic response from the left and their media mouthpieces. The more timid members of our caucus would certainly collapse under this kind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of pressure, and we would look foolish once again. Better not to start this kind of fight than to lose it because we cannot collectively withstand the pressure that comes from the courage of our convictions.

The Timid

Take one-half of the surplus and put it into tax cuts, and the other half into building schools and highways on a pay-as-you-go basis. This is a strategy that has some touchy-feely leftist spending in it, and actually returns money to the taxpayer, without increasing the left's power.

Tax Cuts

I would recommend that the tax cuts be split as follows: (1) eliminate the rest of the car tax; and (2) cut gas taxes to an extent necessary to make up for the rest of the cuts. (1) Revenue has increased so much that all the car tax triggers will be pulled, so, over the next four years taxpayers will see at least $3.3 billion in tax relief, but that *still* only accounts for 67.5 percent of the total car tax. We should eliminate it completely, and do so now, instead of waiting until 2004 to get the relief. We have already exceeded the estimates in amounts to justify the cut. We should fight for it again. (2) Gas prices have gone out of sight, as have tax collections resulting from this increase. Consumers deserve a break, and government could give them that break immediately. Fifteen cents of every gallon of gas right now is sales tax (on top of the 18 cents excise tax). Excise taxes, for the most part, go to build roads. Sales taxes do not. Cutting to sales tax on gas would immediately decrease the cost of gas to the consumer 15 cents, and reduce the general fund surplus $1 billion. Local governments receive $300 million from those funds, but they can be reimbursed for those losses with no pain to state programs. A car tax cut and gas tax cut would go a long way to relieving the real pain inflicted by government on California motorists without subjecting Republicans to the charge they somehow are "helping the rich." Good policy, good public relations, good politics, although a timid approach to the last decade's growth of government.

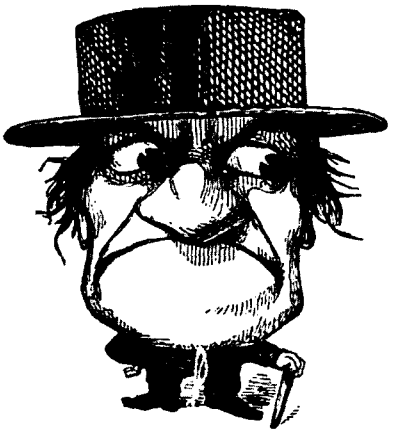
Spending Proposals

Five years of tremendous economic growth in California have led to crowded schools and freeways. Taking the rest of the surplus, and devoting it to construction of schools and construction of freeways on a pay-as-you-go basis has the benefit of sound fiscal policy, good sound bites for the touchy-feely crowd, and it gives something for which our more timid Republicans can fight. These solid proposals will deliver tangible benefits to voters without expanding the left's power base in government. They give Republicans a "we love children and the working man" message, a difficult combination to beat. It is a soft cry for liberty, but it is realistic. It may not turn the ship of government back toward liberty, but it would at least slow the charge toward collectivism in a politically palatable manner.

Conclusion

As my colleague Jim Brulte has pointed out, Californians prefer Republican positions on the issues, but have a low opinion of our Party. Senate and Assembly Republicans will begin to re-connect our Party, in voters' minds, with our popular positions if they adopt and hold together on my Alternative C (the "Timid") or some plan like it. It distinguishes our vision from bureaucratic Democrat collectivism, takes a stand that will resonate with voters, and has some reasonable chance of being implemented. Holding out for such a plan, even for an extended period of time, will incur little or no political cost for Republicans. On the contrary, it would position us well with the voters going into November. It may seem a small beginning in light of government's growth the last five years, but good things, especially those that last, usually begin small. It is tailor-made for the GOP's legislative caucuses, and, if handled right, should energize California's dispirited Republican base. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Democrats to California Drivers:

DROP DEAD!

As soon as you've paid your taxes, that is.

DEMOCRATS TOSSING REPORTERS FROM THEIR OFFICES; KILLING, THEN REVIVING, THEIR OWN BILLS; GOING NUMB INSTEAD OF 'FEELING' WORKING CALIFORNIANS' PAIN AT THE PUMP. IT'S JUST TAX-ADDICTION REALITY CATCHING UP WITH PHONY 'COMPASSION' RHETORIC.

I AM ON A CRUSADE TO REDUCE THE PRICE OF GASOLINE in California. Last year I proposed gas tax reductions and I've done so again this year. The reason is straightforward: high gas prices hurt California's working families and taxes account for too large a portion of the price of gas. When they fill their tanks, Californians pay an 18.4 cents-

Assembly Republican Whip Tony Strickland represents California's 37th Assembly District (Thousand Oaks).

BY TONY STRICKLAND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

per-gallon *federal* excise tax, an 18 cents-per-gallon *state* excise tax, and an average of 15 cents per gallon in *state* sales tax. 51.4 cents per gallon of gasoline is an unfair tax burden, especially now when it is pushing gas prices to $2 per gallon. Californians should not have to choose between a gallon of milk and a gallon of gasoline.

NO EXCUSES

Fortunately, just now California can easily afford to reduce gasoline taxes. State government is currently experiencing its sixth consecutive year of multi-billion-dollar budget surpluses. This year's surplus is predicted to hit an astounding $10 billion — just when motorists most need relief from a crushing gas price burden. And, of the two separate taxes California imposes on gasoline — the excise tax and the sales tax, only a portion of excise tax proceeds support state highway projects. All the sales tax money flows to the state general fund.

Since all taxes imposed on gas should be used for roads and highways, and cutting the sales tax on gas would lower gas prices 15¢ per gallon overnight, I introduced Assembly Bill 1706 to eliminate the sales tax on gas. This obvious, common-sense solution would save California motorists $4.5 million a day, transferring about $1.6 billion a year from the state's $10 billion surplus (still leaving a massive 8.4 billion additional dollars for other programs and needs) to over-taxed Californians who rely on their cars to get to work, to buy food, to take their kids to school or day care or the doctor. This modest, reasonable step united Assembly Republicans in its support. However, Assembly Democrats, with a few exceptions, have flatly opposed any gas sales tax cut, going so far as to refuse even to permit an open floor debate on the issue.

You may ask: why? After all, Democrats call themselves the "Party of the Little Guy," and no one is hit harder than the little guy by the sales tax, which is the same for everyone no matter how much money you make, and by the rising cost of getting to work. So why won't Democrats help the people they claim are their primary constituents? The answer, I think, is three-fold:

The People *vs.*

by John E. Stoos

NOT SINCE "The People's Tax Revolt of 1978" in the middle of Jerry Brown's administration has Sacramento seen such fireworks as are now exploding over another Democrat governor and two-house Democrat majority's desperate fight to protect obscene record surpluses in the state coffers.

On March 16, Assemblymen Tom McClintock and Tony Strickland first asked the state Assembly to consider lowering gas prices about 20 cents per gallon by removing some state and federal taxes. Gas prices had spiked more than 40 cents per gallon in just six weeks and the state was amassing billions of surplus tax dollars almost faster then the analysts could report what was coming in.

Democrats responded right out of the liberal tax and spend playbook: "We need the money," said Assemblyman Lowenthal. Assemblywoman Carol Migden said Republicans did not understand that voters really wanted more mass transit, not relief at the pump. Assemblyman Dick Floyd proclaimed: "I will tell you that the television cameras care more about this issue right now then the people of the state of California, who don't like the high prices, but hell, they are not picketing the building."

Assembly Republicans accepted the challenge. To give voters time and opportunity to show their feelings on the issue, the GOP caucus gave Strickland full support in bringing the issue up every week on the Assembly floor until the Democrats took action. The grass roots soon heard about the Republican effort as radio stations began telling people what was going on at the state Capitol. An amazing coalition began to emerge, as the issue was picked up by both the conservative talk giant KSFO in San Francisco and the "alternative" rock station "The Zone." A recording of Floyd's comments became one of talk radio's most-heard sound bites. A Los Angeles TV

John E. Stoos is senior consultant to Assemblyman Tom McClintock.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

First, Democrats are hung up by their ideology, which is anti-car, pro-tax, and generally built on the proposition that directly empowering ordinary people is bad because it weakens the liberal case for always more and bigger government to "feel our pain," see to our needs, do our thinking for us, and so forth. Second, Democrats feel they cannot afford politically to permit Republicans to win any sort of victory, so they oppose cutting the gas tax because Republicans thought of it first. Third, Democrats generally misunderstand (because they know little about) economics, specifically about how free markets work and the deleterious effects for everyone that high taxes have on those markets.

But it is because of those bad effects, hurting all Californians, that I have been working hard since January to pass my proposal out of the Legislature and onto the governor's desk for his signature. That is also why, rather than providing California's working families relief at the gas pump, the Democrats' only tactic has been to delay and delay and, then, delay some more. At each session, I asked my colleagues to consider my bill on the Assembly floor. The Democrats refused each request despite costing motorists $4.5 million at the pump each day.

JABBING CALIFORNIANS WHERE IT HURTS

Just doing nothing, however, is a poor political strategy, especially on an issue that is jabbing the vast majority of Californians where it hurts on an every-few-days basis. So, hoping to divert attention from the obvious gas tax cut solution and from their own inaction, the Democrats proposed threatening oil companies with tax *increases* as their strategy for reducing gas prices. Only Democrats would think that *raising* taxes would lower the price of gasoline. Even the media was markedly unimpressed with this one. *Los Angeles Times* columnist George Skelton wrote that the tax Big Oil idea "has no get up and go." After a few days of frantic Democrat hype, the idea just went away; it was never even put into a bill.

Finally, after several weeks of stalling, the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee conducted a hearing

the Democrats

reporter came to Sacramento to ask what was being done. One Democrat legislator welcomed him by throwing him out of his office. Democrats are not used to tough questions from reporters.

THE POPULAR response to all this was overwhelming. As the Assembly gathered to meet the morning of March 30, a caravan of motorist and truckers some five miles long, according to Sacramento media reports, approached the Capitol from the west. When it arrived, it was joined by hundreds of protesters already gathered on the Capitol steps. The huge throng proceeded to circle the Capitol for almost an hour with horns blaring and signs waving. Republican legislators stood on the balcony outside the Assembly chambers to cheer them on. Assembly Republican Leader Scott Baugh, with Strickland, went down to greet the crowd and joined KSFO Talk Host Melanie Morgan in leading the chants of "Can you hear us now?" Baugh carried a life-size gas pump showing how much the Democrat delays had cost California motorists. Democrats held a long, closed-door meeting to plan their next step and, we think, try to escape the noise.

But they are finding that increasingly difficult to do. During another attempt to bring up the repeal on the Assembly floor, Strickland mentioned the difficulties high gas prices were causing average Californians. When he mentioned college students, a roar of spontaneous cheers and applause went up from the Assembly gallery from visiting students.

Democrats *also* are not used to hearing students cheer Republicans, so Assemblyman Keeley, who was presiding officer at the time, proceeded to gavel them to silence and warn that if there were any further such outburst that they would be removed. In 1978, the contradictions between Democrat "Party of the Little Guy" rhetoric and the high-tax Democrat reality become a little too obvious, touching off a popular revolt. And the rhetoric now has also worn transparently thin. Three cheers for the Spirit of '78!

(See how high total gas tax costs have risen now at: www.StoptheGasTax.org — look under "California Facts"). CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on my bill. The Democrats made hostile amendments, removing any mention of eliminating the gas sales tax, instead commissioning a bureaucratic study of the issue, in effect, a return to the do-nothing approach.

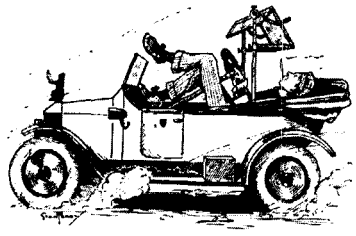
'THE PEOPLE WANT AN IMMEDIATE SOLUTION'

Assemblyman Mike Honda (D-San Jose), the only committee Democrat to vote against the study amendments, said as much, telling the *San Jose Mercury News* the study was "not really a solution" and that "the people want an immediate solution."

But poor Mr. Honda's partisan colleagues must have really gone to work on him for that slip. When, a week later, I challenged the committee's action on the floor, he meekly joined his fellow Democrats voting to "study" the issue. What happened to what "the people want" Mr. Honda?

Democrat, and until recently Assembly Speaker, Antonio Villaraigosa (who just happens to be running for mayor of automobile-rich Los Angeles) was right on target when he told the *Los Angeles Times* that, "People are hurting and the Democrats don't want to do anything."

The Democrats next moved their "study" to the Assembly Appropriations Committee where, interestingly, the same Democrats who changed my bill to a "study" voted to kill it, perhaps thinking that even a "study" gave what they consider a "Republican" issue too much recognition. Assemblywoman Gloria Romero (D-Los Angeles), who offered the "study" amendments in Revenue and Tax, turned around in Appropriations and refused to support them. This was doing nothing with a vengeance — and a major PR blunder.



Assemblyman Mike Honda of San Jose, the only committee Democrat to vote against the study amendments told the *San Jose Mercury News* the study was 'not really a solution' and that 'the people want an immediate solution.'

The Democrats quickly realized they had made another mistake, and arranged a new Appropriations Committee maneuver: amending a *Democrat*-authored bill to commission a "study" on high gas prices. Incidentally, the measure they gutted for this purpose had originally imposed criminal penalties on computer hackers, a proposal they approved moments before hi-jacking the bill.

These weird Democrat contortions — playing political games by first gutting my bill to create a phony "study," then killing their own study, then, realizing their mistake, reviving it at the cost of *another* good public policy proposal, all to hide the truth that they propose to do nothing at all about gas prices — all this stems from the basic disconnect between Democrat ideology/politics/economic ignorance on one hand and the true public interest on the other.

However, all the political games the Democrats care to invent notwithstanding, my fight to repeal the state sales tax on gasoline is just beginning. If no favorable legislative action is taken on my bill, ending the gas sales tax should be a top Republican priority in the upcoming budget process.

NO EXCUSES

We have at least a $10 billion surplus. There is no excuse for the state continuing to rob California's working families at the rate of $4.5 million per day. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

QUALITY GAP

The Bureaucrats Worry About Education Spending Lagging Behind Spending in Other States. They *Ought* To Worry About the Gap in Educational Quality.

California's per pupil education spending must be increased to the national average of state education spending — so say Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin and other politicians, implying that failure to do so will prove Californians are less committed to education than taxpayers in other states. The implication, of course, is ridiculous, for several reasons. Imagine a business, for instance, that tried to operate according to this rule: we'll spend as much as we can lay our hands on, thus guaranteeing the best end product and the most success! Such a business would quickly find, first, that more spending does not necessarily translate into better product and, second, that whatever improvements in quality the increased spending *did* achieve must be worth at least as much as they cost. If they are not, the product will cost more to produce than customers are willing to pay for it. The company will lose money and go out of busi-

Carl Brodt is a vice president at a large commercial bank and Treasurer of California Parents for Educational Choice.

BY CARL BRODT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness. That's why successful businesses devote themselves to producing their product by spending the *lowest amount necessary* to provide goods or services of comparable or better quality than customers receive from competitors. The best businesses provide better quality at *less* cost than their competitors. Similarly, per pupil spending in California *beneath* the national average is *good* if the *quality* of education provided is acceptable.

This sort of talk annoys and upsets the apologists for California's disastrous K-12 educational *status quo.* It challenges their habit of using the budget to increase the power of their bureaucratic allies, to promote social engineering, or to feed special interests. For them, the more spending, the better. But relating K-12 spending to academic quality, by showing California taxpayers that they are getting little value for their money, could stiffen public resistance to throwing more dollars at public education without real reforms.

After all, the *academic performance* of California's public school children is not up to the national average, much less at an acceptable level. California graduates less than two-thirds of its public school students and less than half of those who *do* graduate are prepared for the requirements of either the job market or citizenship. More than half of California students who attend state universities have to take remedial courses because they failed to obtain in elementary and high school the basic skills required to do college work.

Sacramento politicians and their bureaucratic allies blame this poor record on the especially difficult educational challenges California faces, particularly the state's large proportion of non-English speaking children (though these same decision-makers avoid mentioning the role of bilingual education, whole language education, and a host of other failed programs in aggravating this challenge). Taxpayers, they predictably argue, should not expect comparable quality with less than comparable or even greater spending. This argument, as usual, presupposes a direct, unbreakable relationship between higher spending and improved academic performance which the evidence, putting it mildly, does not support.

A recent Pacific Research Institute report, for example, contained district-by-district comparisons between projected 1999-2000 fiscal year, per-student spending and student academic performance. The chart above shows the percentage of each district's sixth graders whose 1999 reading and math test performance ranked at or above the national average:

	Total Revenue/ Student	*Reading*	*Math*
Sacramento City Unified	$6,899	41%	50%
California Average	$7,535	44%	50%
San Diego City Unified	$7,818	45%	50%
San Bernardino City Unified	$7,885	25%	35%
Oakland Unified	$7,933	24%	30%
Santa Ana Unified	$7,962	15%	28%
Fresno Unified	$7,994	30%	38%
San Jose Unified	$8,372	45%	48%
Los Angeles Unified	$9,029	24%	42%
San Francisco Unified	$10,021	45%	56%
Sausalito Elementary	$16,555	38%	33%

The real questions state decision-makers should ask *before* setting the state's K-12 budget are: (1) why, apparently, no correlation exists between academic performance and greater public school spending, (2) what factors, including spending levels, actually *do* contribute to educational improvement, and (3) what will bring about the changes required to improve our schools.

But these questions are not even on state decision-makers' radar screens. The Legislative Analyst's Office recently reported the Department of Education and the California Teachers Association had been overstating its official estimates of the "spending gap" by as much as 100 percent! And if the Legislature adds as much per-pupil spending to Governor Davis's recommended 2000-2001 K-12 education budget as it added to last year's recommended budget (a strong possibility with a $10 billion-and-growing surplus), California's per pupil "spending gap" will virtually disappear by the upcoming school year. Thus, seeing that this key excuse for public schools' academic failures may soon be gone, Superintendent Eastin simply upped the ante, saying: "You must go beyond just getting to the median" in K-12 per-student spending. No vision, no strategic plan, no new direction. Just more and more money with no end in sight.

The Superintendent and her political fellow-travelers should stop talking in sound bites about "investing in our children," cast aside the special interests whose empires rely absolutely upon maintaining the K-12 *status quo,* and get "down and dirty" in ending the system's inefficiency, waste, featherbedding, upside-down spending practices, and rotten priorities. They should abandon their view of the public as bumpkins, unable to see through even the simplest deceptions and incapable of participating in any real consideration of the issues. They should publicly air out the whole truth about the situation they themselves, or their bureaucratic soul mates, have created or, at least, condoned, and tell the people what they will do to fix the situation.

Otherwise, Californians will turn increasingly to policies that will force such fixes — and the school choice movement will grow ever-stronger. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Communist Dragon Challenges the West

by Leon S. McKinney

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION says Communist China is no threat to U.S. security, which, of course, is the surest sign the threat is not only real but serious. The Clinton Inverse Indicator is the world's most dependable locater of truth: wherever it points, turn 180 degrees and you have found reality. Thus it is no surprise that last December, the *Washington Times* reported China had begun building its first, new "Type 094" missile submarine. The 094 will serve as launch pad for the Julang-2 ("Great Wave") nuclear missile, a more than 7,400-mile-range, smaller, underwater-launched variant of the communists' new land-based ICBM, the Dong Feng-31 ("East Wind"). So what? So this: The DF-31 and JL-2 are the first Chinese communist missiles with stolen U.S. warhead and missile technology, according to senior Pentagon and intelligence officials quoted in the *Washington Times*. One intelligence official said "the DF-31 and JL-2 will be able to hit any place in the United States, not just the Western states." Communist China is a significant threat to U.S. security. For the first time, Chinese communists will be able to attack American cities from waters under the protection of their own naval and air forces.

This perilous development traces directly to the national security breaches, political deals, campaign contributions, and other assorted illegalities and treasons that have defined U.S. relations with Chinese dictators during the Clinton years. Bill Clinton, we hear, is in search of a legacy. How's this? He can claim credit for America soon falling once more under direct threat of communist nuclear attack. Almost single-handedly, Bill Clinton has re-invented the Cold War! Stolen, and sometimes bought or freely-given, U.S. technology has enabled the communists to design and manufacture much smaller, lighter warheads than before, so they can be thrown further. Their missiles also now have much more accurate guidance systems, with "miss distances" from warhead detonation to tar-

Leon McKinney, who writes California Political Review's *"Washington Letter," is an engineering consultant in St. Louis, Missouri.*

California Political Review *is a primary sponsor of the June 9-10-11 Western Conservative Conference (Hacienda Hotel near LA airport) on the theme "Red China Threat to the U.S.A." (See this issue's inside front cover.) Conference attendees will receive a free, autographed copy of the new book,* China Doll: Clinton-Gore and the Selling of the U.S. Presidency, *by Dr. Roger Canfield and Richard A. Delgaudio, published by another conference primary sponsor: U.S. Intelligence Council.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

get location now measured in yards, not miles, as before. The communists also have learned how to deploy multiple warheads from one DF-31 or JL-2. Before last year, the regime's 24 single-warhead missiles could be depended upon to hit somewhere within 5 to 10 miles of each of 24 targets. By 2005, China's dictators will have 20 or more DF-31s, carrying 3-to-10 warheads each, that can be launched at 60 to 200 targets anywhere in the United States with high accuracy. They will also have several Type 094 missile subs with 12 to 16 3-warhead JL-2 missiles: another 100 to 150 U.S. targets at risk. Now that's a legacy for you. But not even Clinton could do so much all alone. Among his prime comrades:

Wen Ho Lee: the Chinese-American at the Los Alamos nuclear weapon lab who almost certainly is the communist agent, or one of the agents, who turned over the technical database of our nuclear warhead development program (going back to the 1940s) to the dictators in Beijing.

Bernard Schwartz: "Anything for a Buck" Bernie, as head of Loral Space Systems, saw to it the Tiananmen Square murderers obtained U.S. missile guidance technology as *quid pro quo* for access to communist rockets, which launch Loral-built satellites. By the way, in 1995-96 Schwartz gave the Democrat National Committee more than $1 million, making himself the DNC's largest individual donor. Bill Clinton later issued executive orders that stopped criminal investigations of Schwartz's wheeling and dealing with China's tyrants.

C. Michael Armstrong: now the head of AT&T, Armstrong was CEO of Hughes and another major Clinton donor during the 1992 campaign. In January 1993, he led a parade of Silicon Valley tycoons who persuaded Clinton to relax (actually, to eliminate) President George Bush's export controls, thus making possible lucrative, albeit national security-compromising, contracts with the thieves controlling China.

* * *

China's communist regime appears to be emerging from decades of hermit-like international isolation determined to exert itself as a major power, if not *the* major power, in the western Pacific and even as far away as Panama. In 1997, Richard Bernstein and Ross Munro, journalists formerly stationed in Beijing, argued in a *Foreign Affairs* article ("The Coming Conflict with China") that China is militarizing with expansionist aims. Since then, joined by military hawks and human rights watchers, they've been loudly warning that China seeks to restore its traditional position of hegemony in East Asia.

AN OBVIOUS obstacle to this is the United States. So, in 1989, according to a report published by the United States Intelligence Council (USIC), a conservative research and advocacy organization, Maj. Gen. Yan Huan, deputy commander of Chinese Army Rocket Forces, set three goals for communist nuclear weapons: improve their survivability from U.S. attack, improve their range and accuracy, and improve their ability to penetrate and evade U.S. missile defenses. The communists also developed what William Safire and others have called a "shopping list" of U.S. technologies: missile and satellite data encryption, missile and warhead guidance, supercomputers and accompanying operating software, advanced computer-controlled machine tooling systems for manufacturing military aircraft and missiles, hardening microchips and electronic circuit boards against radiation from nuclear blasts, lasers, fiber optic, and other advanced communications technologies.

To aid their acquisition of these items, the communists began setting up companies in the United States owned by their regime and operated by the Chinese Army and Ministry of State Security. Orange County Representative Chris Cox's House Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China in 1998 reported the Beijing regime controls more than 1,000 of these front companies, with about 10,000 agent-employees. Hundreds of these companies are in Southern California, which *The American Spectator* describes as "China's 22nd province." (Incredibly, according to *The American Spectator*, during 1994 and '95, the office of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a front company operated by Beijing's largest weapons manufacturer was located directly above the CIA's office responsible for dealing with Los Angeles-area aerospace companies, without the CIA knowing it.)

One problem with running a 10,000-agent intelligence operation in the United States is that the U.S. government might catch and prosecute some of your agents. To meet this potential difficulty, China set about buying off the president. This began in September 1993 with a $30,000 donation delivered by John Huang to the DNC. (Huang admitted under oath to being bagman for the Lippo Group, an Indonesian conglomerate owned by the shady Riady family with a web of ties to the Beijing regime and its army.)

One problem with a 10,000-agent intelligence operation in the U. S. — the government might prosecute your agents. So, China set about buying off the president.

Eventually, at least $2 million was allocated for Clinton's 1996 campaign, according to conversations intercepted by the FBI and National Security Agency (NSA) between the Beijing regime and its embassy in Washington. U.S. intelligence obtained information making clear that the communists directly ordered their agents to make the illegal campaign contributions.

Tennessee GOP Senator Fred Thompson's July 14, 1997, public charges that China's dictators had illegally spent "substantial sums of money" to "subvert our election process" and to "buy access in furtherance of Chinese government interests" were dismissed as "partisan" and "alarmist" by Democrats and much of the major media, even though a July 13, 1997, *Washington Post* front-page story by Bob Woodward reported that the FBI, CIA, and NSA had verified all of Thompson's findings. The Chi-Com campaign cash, along with the contributions from Schwartz, Armstrong, and the communists' other American high-tech trading partners, served its intended purpose. America's elaborate system of export controls, restrictions, and licenses carefully developed over 50 years by successive Democrat and Republican administrations to prevent Soviet and Chinese communists from obtaining the fruits of U.S. research, melted away like so much cotton candy. Clinton allowed COCOM, controls on "militarily useful technology," to expire in March 1994, then dismantled the Export Administration Act through executive order the following year, practically eliminating civil and criminal penalties for giving weapons technology to communist and other rogue regimes. He waived the post-Tiananmen trade restrictions imposed by Congress, and lied in certifying that China's dictators were not engaged in proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons technology. Clinton transferred approval of exports from the State and Defense Departments to the anything-goes Commerce Department of Ron Brown and John Huang. In 1996, Brown died in a horrible plane crash in Yugoslavia shortly after informing his business partner, Nolanda Hill, that he had told the White House he no longer wanted to be involved in the wholesale transfer of U.S. technology or in selling Commerce Department trade mission slots ($50,000 to the DNC got you a seat on the plane). Brown was replaced by the presumably more-pliant Richard Daley.

SO, WHILE the Beijing regime had to steal U.S. nuclear warhead technology, it simply bought or was given everything else it needed, counting on Clinton to override questions by State or Defense or intelligence community officials. In 1993, for instance, Tony Podesta, brother of Clinton executive staffer John Podesta, approached the White House on behalf of computer manufacturers represented by his lobbying firm. This meeting was followed, on September 29, 1993, by a Clinton order relaxing export

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

controls on supercomputers. In August 1994, Tandem Computers signed a deal to sell $100 million of supercomputers to the Chinese Army-owned Great Wall Industries. After a few more years of relaxing or eliminating restraints on computer sales to such Chinese "civilian" companies, in July 1999 Clinton allowed sales of computers capable of up to 12,500 MTOPS (millions of theoretical operations per second). Thus, Clinton paved the way for China's dictators to obtain Intel's fastest Pentium III Xenon chip. According to the Cox Report, although China's communists "had virtually no High Performance Computers (HPCs) in 1996," more than "600 U.S.-origin HPCs" were in their possession "by the end of 1998." As the USIC notes, today "the communist Chinese have more supercomputers than the Pentagon and DOE combined." Those HPCs, it is safe to say, are busy conducting research in nuclear weapons, missiles, satellites, and other military systems.

BUT HPC-DESIGNED advanced military systems capability is just step one. It does no good unless you can manufacture the systems. So the Chinese regime set out to get the required manufacturing capability. McDonnell Douglas had been trying for years to get lucrative deals to sell airliners to the Chinese regime-owned airlines, drooling like all too many American companies at the promise of China's "market of one billion customers." In 1994, the Chinese communists offered to make the deal, but they wanted something in return: machine tooling they said would help them be more competitive in making commercial airplanes. They knew just where to get that tooling. McDonnell Douglas was closing down a Columbus, Ohio, plant it owned where B-1 bomber parts were made. The American company applied to the Commerce Department to allow the sale of the Columbus plant's tooling machinery to the communist-controlled China Aerospace Technology Import-Export Company (CATIC) with U.S. operations headquartered in El Monte, California. Peter Leitner, a DOD senior export-control official, recommended the application be denied, citing evidence that CATIC planned to violate their agreement with McDonnell Douglas by installing the machine tooling not in a commercial aircraft factory, but in one producing military planes. Clinton Administration officials ordered Leitner to change his recommendation. He refused. So Clinton overrode Leitner, who suddenly stopped receiving the normal promotions and bonuses his peers continued to receive. Leitner testified before Congress in summer 1999, and last October 19, the U.S. Department of Justice indicted an American executive involved and his Chinese counterparts at CATIC, charging violations of U.S. arms export regulations — too late, however, for U.S. national security.

Effective military forces require rapid, fail-safe communications systems to provide timely dissemination of intelligence, weather reports, and orders so its aircraft, satellites, submarines, and ground units can work together efficiently. U.S. taxpayers provide billions every year to be spent on research, development, and procurement of military communications, computers, and intelligence systems and networks. Here, too, we find Clinton and his cronies obligingly providing China's communist regime with anything it might need. In 1994, the National Security Agency objected to a proposed sale to a Chinese communist-controlled company of a fiber optic cable manufacturing facility to be built in China and the installation also in China of telephone switching equipment with encryption capability. Fiber optics and encryption greatly hinder NSA eavesdropping. Clinton's Secretary of Defense William Perry overruled NSA both times, allowing the sale and installation to proceed. In 1996, Clinton approved a sale by Hughes Space & Communications to China's tyrants of 522 satellite ground stations, complete with satellite and missile communications encryption.

In 1998, the Cox Committee subpoenaed a Defense Department internal memo written by Michael Maloof, of DOD's Technology Security Agency. In it, Maloof wrote that the Chinese regime's acquisition of HPCs, satellites, and communications technologies during the Clinton years "have provided the Chinese with a nationwide encrypted command, control, communications, computers and intelligence (C4I) network that will serve it well into the next cen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tury." Maloof concluded that the Chinese Army "could not have developed" this network "on its own."

FOR CHINA'S communist dictators, the return on their investment in Clinton's presidency has thus far outstripped anything even Nasdaq boasted before that market's recent near-collapse. It so emboldened them that, during 1997 and '98, they tried to lease Long Beach Naval Shipyard, which had been closed in 1994, using a favorite front company, the China Ocean Shipping Company (COSCO). COSCO became notorious when it was caught in 1996 trying to smuggle thousands of Chinese-made AK-47 assault rifles (the real thing — machine guns, not the semi-automatic "scary-looking" hunting rifles liberals call "assault" weapons) into San Francisco to sell to street gangs. For once, they overreached: despite Long Beach officials' craven eagerness to give the Chinese communist ruling clique this ultimate prize — an enormous base and port from which to run its espionage and smuggling operations — the deal was halted, thanks to courageous stands by Orange Country Representatives Dana Rohrabacher, Chris Cox, and Ed Royce, among many others who protested this bizarre proposal.

Otherwise, however, the communists' long-range plans are proceeding largely unimpeded. Slowly but surely, the Chinese dictatorship is grabbing control of South China Sea islands belonging to the Philippines, islands that are hundreds of miles from China but right off the Philippines' shore. Besides gaining the islands' fabulous mineral and oil reserves, the communists are establishing control over vital choke-points in international shipping lanes from Asia to the open Pacific.

And Chinese communist control is now being established at the Panama Canal, posing probably the most serious threat to U.S. security in this hemisphere since the Cuban Missile Crisis. Panama's government has given China's dictators *de facto* control of the ports at both Atlantic and Pacific ends of the Canal, according to testimony given last October 22 at a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing by Bruce Fein, one of the nation's foremost authorities on U.S. constitutional law and U.S. treaties. Fein said Panama Law No. 5, enacted in 1997, gives a 25-year renewable "operating concession" to something called "the Panama Ports Company," granting it "the right to use on a priority basis all the piers" in the Atlantic and Pacific Panama Canal ports. Thus ships can only dock at the Canal ports to load or unload cargo or to await transit through the Canal at the pleasure of the PPC. The Panama Law No. 5 "operating concession" also provides PPC the "right to have and to operate ... tug boats and work boats, vessel repair service and piloting service." Since no ship can enter the Canal without a Canal pilot, using the Canal requires PPC approval.

This Panama Ports Company is controlled by Hutchison-Whampoa, a Hong Kong company owned by one Li Ka-Shing, who just happens to be extensively linked to the communists controlling China. Like every other bogus "civilian" company operating from China, Hutchison-Whampoa acts at the pleasure of the Chinese Communist Party. If, say, hostilities between the United States and the Chinese Army were to break out over a communist attack on Taiwan, and the CCP wanted the canal blocked against U.S. naval forces, any mythical "civilian" status or "independence" supposedly enjoyed by the Panama Ports Company would vanish.

THESE PANAMANIAN concessions to the Chinese communist thugs, by the way, appear to violate at least one of the Jimmy Carter 1977 Panama Canal Treaties. Fein quoted for the senators Article V of the Neutrality Treaty, which states that "only the Republic of Panama shall operate the Canal and maintain military forces, defense sites and military installations within its national territory." Thus, Fein said, Panama Law No. 5 apparently does precisely what the

(Please turn to page 31)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Evil Party

by John Kurzweil

What motivates the Left is an Idea whose true consciousness is this: Everything human is alien. Because everything that is flesh and blood humanity is only the disposable past. This is the consciousness that makes mass murderers of well-intentioned humanists and earnest progressives, the Hegelian liberators of the socialist cause .... You and I and our parents were totalitarians in democratic America. The democratic fact of America prevented us from committing the atrocities willed by our faith. Impotence was our only innocence. In struggles all over the world, we pledged our faith and gave our support to the perpetrators of the totalitarian deed. Our solidarity with them, like the crimes they committed, was justified in the name of the revolutionary Idea. Our capabilities were different. Our passion was the same.

— David Horowitz, "Letter to a Political Friend," Destructive Generation

My first composition .... was a story of a train going along very fast and, to the satisfaction of the passengers, racing through the small stations along the track without stopping. Their satisfaction, however, turned to dismay, and then to panic fury, as it dawned on them that it was not going to stop at their stations either when it came to them. They raged and shouted and shook their fists, but all to no avail. The train went roaring on....

— Malcolm Muggeridge

ONCE AGAIN, America is surprised by Bill Clinton. Liberals are always being surprised by the behavior of people to their left — Jimmy Carter, for instance, "surprised" by Brezhnev invading Afghanistan. "He lied to me," said the shocked, almost whimpering president. And now Clinton's storm-trooper kidnapping of Elian Gonzalez surprises liberal law professors Laurence Tribe (the raid "strikes at the heart of constitutional government and shakes the safeguards of liberty") and Alan Dershowitz (the administration acted "lawlessly" setting a "terrible precedent that the administration can act without court approval and break into the home of an American citizen." Both Tribe and Dershowitz steadfastly defended Clinton throughout impeachment; both are now angry, dismayed, surprised. A former aide to House Speaker Tip O'Neill and now a media commentator — and a liberal — Chris Matthews said on MSNBC's Brian Williams show: "And here they have a vivid description of their Pres ... of their government as a brutal military force coming to yank them out of their beds in the middle of the night. We have laughed in the big cities — I should say, among journalists — about the black helicopter image of a federal police force, or even a UN force coming to grab their guns or take them away. We've always laughed at that. Well after this picture today — no one can laugh at that picture because it's real .... I've never seen a kid facing an automatic weapon in my life like that!"

This surprise at seeing leftists behave barbarously is one of the recurring themes of modern history. In a speech to the AFL-CIO in 1975, for instance, Alexander Solzhenitsyn described a meeting in 1918 of representatives of all factories in the "cradle of the Revolution" — Petrograd. "This was March 1918, only four months after the October Revolution," Solzhenitsyn said, "and the representatives ... were denouncing the Communists who had deceived them in all their promises. What is more, not only had the Communists abandoned Petrograd to cold and hunger, themselves having fled from Petrograd to Moscow, but they had given orders to open machine-gun fire on the crowds of workers in the factory courtyards who were demanding the election of independent factory committees." In a second speech a few weeks later, Solzhenitsyn said, "It is astonishing that Communism has been writing about itself in the most open way, in black and white, for 125 years, and even

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more openly, more candidly in the beginning. The *Communist Manifesto,* for instance, which everyone knows by name, and which almost no one ever takes the trouble to read, contains even more terrible things than what has actually been done. It is perfectly amazing. The whole world can read, everyone is literate, yet somehow no one wants to understand."

Under the influence of exactly this refusal to understand, Franklin Roosevelt, in a toast given in Teheran toward the end of World War II, said "I do not doubt that the three of us [Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin] are leading our peoples in accordance with their desires and their aims." A little later, after the war had ended, came an episode that, on a staggering scale, foreshadowed Clinton's treatment of Elian. Stalin demanded that the West turn over to him some *1.5 million* Soviet citizens who had fled to the West as the war ended. "How was this done?" Solzhenitsyn asked. "They were taken by force. English soldiers killed Russians who did not want to become prisoners of Stalin, and drove them by force to Stalin to be exterminated. This has recently come to light, just a few years ago. A million and a half human beings. How could the Western democracies have done this?"

How indeed? James Burnham described one element of the liberal psyche accounting for such unbelievable occurances in his 1964 book *Suicide of the West.* It is the conviction that the French, with reference to their own ideological and political "development," articulated simply as *il n'y à pas d'ennemi à gauche* — there is no enemy to the left. As the rule applies in practice for modern liberals, Burnham explained, "a liberal may agree that there is or can be a 'threat' from the Left; but to a liberal, a threat from the Left does not *feel* the same way as a threat from the Right. As the liberal sees it, some persons on the Left are doubtless mistaken in some of their views, even rather badly off course; but the liberal feels instinctively that their 'intentions' are good, that they are aiming at the right goals, and that you therefore have a chance to sit down and reason things out with them, to negotiate differences. Even communists, bad as they are, are not hopeless." All this stands in contrast to "those extremists over on the Right" who "are so full of reactionary prejudices and anti-intellectual bias that it's really pointless to try to work things out, so far as they are concerned, by discussion and negotiation. With them it's just a question of who is stronger."

Sounds like Eleanor Clift, whose now famous contribution to the pre-raid Elian debate was her observation that "to be a poor child in Cuba may in many instances be better than being a poor child in Miami and I'm not going to condemn their lifestyle so gratuitously." George Will reported that "Peter Jennings mixed exasperation and hauter about the relatives' reluctance to speed Elian back to totalitarianism: 'Once again the government has failed to get the kind of cooperation from the relatives that might allow the case of this young boy to end in a civilized manner that is best for him.'" The *New York Times* encapsulated the liberals' visceral mood, calling *Miami,* not Cuba, a "banana Republic." Recall that only a few weeks ago, these same organs were proclaiming that "the world's dictators" had been taught a lesson and could be expected to think twice in the future about abusing people because of the house arrest and threat of trial and imprisonment visited upon Augusto Pinochet, a man who, after winning a war to end a communist tyranny in Chile, eventually, and completely voluntarily, returned to his country the democracy that communist allies of Castro had eliminated. But, then, if there is no enemy to the left, naturally there can be no "dictators" there either.

WHILE IT is gratifying to hear men like Tribe, Dershowitz, and Matthews express the obvious truth about the fearful lawlessness of Clinton's Elian maneuver and what it portends for the future of American government and personal freedom, the indignation cannot be expected to last long. Liberals *never* sustain their indignation against anyone to their left or to a policy, no matter how barbarous, that the left favors. New York Democrat Senator Pat Moynihan, for instance, has faded into quiet forbearance on the issue of partial birth abortion after he, at one point, in an initial moment of candor, admitted he saw what is plain to see, that such abortions are "infanticide" — *his* word. My 1937 *Webster's Second International Dictionary* defines infanticide, in part, as "child murder," and goes on to say "Infanticide was anciently largely lawful and common and is still so among many savage and semicivilized races; among the civilized nations it is murder." Moynihan says he knows partial birth abortion is infanticide, that is to say, that it is "savage," uncivilized, murder, but will not permit even *that* to dissuade him from cavorting cheerfully with his Democrat colleagues who keep it legal in America.

Actually, the moral outrage of the Tribes, *et al,* and, more importantly, of most prominent Americans, is largely a false front, mostly show with little substance, and invariably fades to silence when the first convenient distraction appears — a steep rise or fall in the stock market, say. Clinton only shocks for a short time because he really isn't doing anything more than exposing the illogic and hypocrisy of two contradictory, yet prevailing, American attitudes: first, that morality is really no more than a matter of private

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The kings whom we behold
In highest glory placed
And with rich purple graced,
Compassed with soldiers bold;
Whose countenance shows fierce threats,
Who with rash fury chide,
If any strip the pride
From their vainglorious feats;
He'll see them close oppressed
Within by galling chains.
For filthy lust there reigns
And poisoneth their breast,
Wrath often them perplexeth
Raising their minds like waves,
Sorrow their power enslaves
And sliding hope them vexeth.
So many tyrants still
Dwelling in one poor heart,
Except they first depart
She cannot have her will.

— Boethius

preference and yet, second, that we can and should expect people, especially our leaders, to uphold certain minimum moral standards as if they were universally real. This is a morality without a body — a specter, a wraith, a ghost. It is intended, and serves, only to quiet the true voice of conscience by making us *feel* we are on the side of virtue when we are not. And when the two attitudes collide, the second, sometimes after a squawk or two, always gives way to the first.

THE *ACTUAL* American passion is power. Consider, for instance, the consummate buffoon, Al Gore. At least half of our countrymen, evidently, say they support him for president, even after all that the administration — in part, *his* administration — has done. In late April, Gore horrified the crowd at a Democrat fund-raiser in New York with the news of a street gang shoot-out at the Washington, D.C., National Zoo that left six children wounded. The vice president, presumably straight-faced, then said "We really have to have mandatory child safety trigger locks!" — *in order to control street gangs?* A joke, surely — but no, because Gore is no more interested in stopping gang violence than he is in ending hunger, educating kids, or in any of the other stereotyped "causes" Democrats say they serve. He and most of his New York audience are addicted to the thrill of pushing people around, of forcing people to bend to their will. And they have found that seemingly sensible people nod in agreement when they use occasions of horror and social failure to call for more controls on their fellow men, so they use them accordingly, reflexively, as Gore did in New York. And nobody, not Gore, not his listeners, not the journalists covering the speech mind at all that his demand was idiotic on its face under the circumstances.

This true sickness of the prevailing American character is evident throughout our political culture. Soon after Gore spoke in New York, a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled Ohio's state motto, "With God, all things are possible," unconstitutional. At the same time, the U.S. Supreme Court held a hearing that left most observers apparently convinced that a majority of Democrat- and Republican-appointed justices are about to rule restrictions on partial birth infanticide *also* unconstitutional. We cannot tolerate even talking about God; we *must* tolerate child murder.

Clinton kidnaps small boys, flaunts the law, morality, every good thing, and gets away with it, because he knows, once the harrumphing dies down and the fluster, fuss, and feathers have been smoothed back into place, that the cold truth will reassert itself irresistably: that the only alternative to going on with Clinton into the barbarous night is to resurrect the unthinkable idea we have spent five hundred years escaping — that truth is real, that right and wrong are real, that we should live not to please ourselves but to do right. And that is not all, because that idea does not, and cannot, stand alone. It depends absolutely on the proposition that an authority we *must* respect stands behind truth and right: God. No, no. Don't hold your breath. Clinton may or may not "get away" with this latest outrage, and it may or may not in some temporary way influence public perceptions so as to make a difference in the election. Who knows? But whatever happens in those regards, of this much be certain: that Americans across the land, and certainly the ruling elite, will in no way permit this incident to stir any lasting doubt about their convenient relativist convictions or to convince them to alter their way of living. This "terrible, lawless precedent," this "blow to the heart of constitutional government," this "shaking the safeguards of liberty," this sight of "a kid facing an automatic weapon" — please. A people that has swallowed and lived comfortably with a quarter century of abortion on demand, not to mention a long list of, by comparison with child murder, minor depradations on our freedoms and dignity as human beings from the collapse of law in our courts to the collapse of property rights in our communities, from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the thievery of tax collectors to the thievery of trial lawyers and the abuses of government regulators, from the mass mis-education of our children to the pullution of our culture, the rejection of God-centered religion, and the embrace of the self-centered religion of the ACLU. Such a people will digest Elian's kidnapping too. The train goes roaring on.

But do not think they have won. They have lost, and will continue to lose, until they become so miserable that they, like other ultimately fortunate addicts, recognize the chains of their addiction for what they are and finally strive to break them. If that doesn't happen, then, finally, they will destroy themselves. The sixth century writer Boethius, a one-time Roman senator and consul to the emperor who was unjustly thrown into prison, tortured, and killed, wrote, while in prison, a book called *The Consolation of Philosophy.* In this book, Boethius, a Christian who suffered for having defended another senator against a trumped-up charge of treason, asks "Lady Philosophy" why, with "wickedness bearing rule and sway, virtue is not only without reward, but lies also trodden under the wicked's feet, and is punished instead of vice"? She answers, "But it is not so .... the good are always powerful, and the evil always abject and weak ....

> For why do [evil men] follow vices, forsaking virtues? By ignorance of that which is good? But what is more devoid of strength than blind ignorance? Or do they know what they should embrace, but passion drives them headlong the contrary way? So also intemperance makes them frail, since they cannot strive against vice. Or do they wittingly and willingly forsake goodness, and decline to vices? But in this sort they leave not only to be powerful, but even to *be* at all .... You cannot account him a man whom you see transformed by vices. Is the violent extorter of other men's goods carried away with his covetous desire? You may liken him to a wolf. Is the angry and unquiet man always contending and brawling? You may compare him to a dog. Does the treacherous fellow rejoice that he has deceived others with his hidden frauds? Let him be accounted no better than a fox. Does the outrageous fret and fume? Let him be thought to have a lion's mind. Is the fearful and timorous afraid without cause? Let him be esteemed like to hares and deer. Is the slow and stupid always idle? He lives an ass's life. Does the light and unconstant change his course? He is nothing different from the birds. Is he drowned in filthy and unclean lusts? He is entangled in the pleasure of a stinking sow. So that he who, leaving virtue, ceases to be a man, since he cannot be partaker of the divine condition, is turned into a beast.

GOD BRINGS good from evil. Another boy, kidnapped and enslaved on a heathen island, returned later to end its peoples' slavery to the lie. Perhaps Elian, who, it seems, was saved miraculously from sharks off Florida's coast, is destined to be Cuba's St. Patrick. CPR

McKinney

(Continued from page 27)

Neutrality Treaty prohibits.

My Congressional and intelligence community contacts say they are concerned the Beijing regime may have established relations with the nearby Columbian narco-terrorist organization Front for Armed Revolution in Columbia (FARC). Bruce Fein said FARC "has captured 40 percent of Columbia" and "circulates freely in south Panama." FARC's drug trade income has allowed it to acquire a "formidable military,"which U.S. forces trying to retake the Canal might find opposing them. In addition, my contacts also say Chinese companies may have begun constructing installations that could be used by the Chinese army, including at least some apparently intended as missile launch sites.

Clinton Administration response has been to ignore its rights and obligations under the Panama Canal Treaties while denying any threat exists. Eerily echoing old Cold War left apologetics for military build-ups by the Evil Empire, one Clinton line has been to blame *American* self-defense for the Chinese communist dictatorship amassing huge new conventional military and nuclear capabilities. On March 17, Deputy National Security Adviser Gary Samore told the Carnegie Endowment in Washington: "If our policy convinces China that we are a threat, then that increases the possibility that China will devote the resources to significantly expand their strategic capabilities." Never mind the intrinsically warlike, expansionist impulse driving all communist enterprises; pay no attention to the insecurity of this tiny group of ruthless men enslaving a billion of their countrymen, men whose regime would have been toppled by Tiananmen Square's peaceful, pro-freedom demonstrators had George Bush supported them in any substantial way. Chinese communists become dangerous, Samore says, only if free peoples take steps to defend themselves. Samore's point is ridiculous on its face: the communist's aggressive military build-up is occurring *at the very time* the Clinton administration is bending over backwards not only to avoid threatening the Beijing tyranny, but to befriend and help it every way it can. I doubt the people of Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, the other countries of Asia, or even mainland China — not to mention Panama — all feeling the communist dragon's hot breath down their necks, agree with Samore. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the thievery of tax collectors to the thievery of trial lawyers and the abuses of government regulators, from the mass mis-education of our children to the pullution of our culture, the rejection of God-centered religion, and the embrace of the self-centered religion of the ACLU. Such a people will digest Elian's kidnapping too. The train goes roaring on.

But do not think they have won. They have lost, and will continue to lose, until they become so miserable that they, like other ultimately fortunate addicts, recognize the chains of their addiction for what they are and finally strive to break them. If that doesn't happen, then, finally, they will destroy themselves. The sixth century writer Boethius, a one-time Roman senator and consul to the emperor who was unjustly thrown into prison, tortured, and killed, wrote, while in prison, a book called *The Consolation of Philosophy.* In this book, Boethius, a Christian who suffered for having defended another senator against a trumped-up charge of treason, asks "Lady Philosophy" why, with "wickedness bearing rule and sway, virtue is not only without reward, but lies also trodden under the wicked's feet, and is punished instead of vice"? She answers, "But it is not so .... the good are always powerful, and the evil always abject and weak ....

> For why do [evil men] follow vices, forsaking virtues? By ignorance of that which is good? But what is more devoid of strength than blind ignorance? Or do they know what they should embrace, but passion drives them headlong the contrary way? So also intemperance makes them frail, since they cannot strive against vice. Or do they wittingly and willingly forsake goodness, and decline to vices? But in this sort they leave not only to be powerful, but even to *be* at all .... You cannot account him a man whom you see transformed by vices. Is the violent extorter of other men's goods carried away with his covetous desire? You may liken him to a wolf. Is the angry and unquiet man always contending and brawling? You may compare him to a dog. Does the treacherous fellow rejoice that he has deceived others with his hidden frauds? Let him be accounted no better than a fox. Does the outrageous fret and fume? Let him be thought to have a lion's mind. Is the fearful and timorous afraid without cause? Let him be esteemed like to hares and deer. Is the slow and stupid always idle? He lives an ass's life. Does the light and unconstant change his course? He is nothing different from the birds. Is he drowned in filthy and unclean lusts? He is entangled in the pleasure of a stinking sow. So that he who, leaving virtue, ceases to be a man, since he cannot be partaker of the divine condition, is turned into a beast.

GOD BRINGS good from evil. Another boy, kidnapped and enslaved on a heathen island, returned later to end its peoples' slavery to the lie. Perhaps Elian, who, it seems, was saved miraculously from sharks off Florida's coast, is destined to be Cuba's St. Patrick. CPR

McKinney

(Continued from page 27)

Neutrality Treaty prohibits.

My Congressional and intelligence community contacts say they are concerned the Beijing regime may have established relations with the nearby Columbian narco-terrorist organization Front for Armed Revolution in Columbia (FARC). Bruce Fein said FARC "has captured 40 percent of Columbia" and "circulates freely in south Panama." FARC's drug trade income has allowed it to acquire a "formidable military,"which U.S. forces trying to retake the Canal might find opposing them. In addition, my contacts also say Chinese companies may have begun constructing installations that could be used by the Chinese army, including at least some apparently intended as missile launch sites.

Clinton Administration response has been to ignore its rights and obligations under the Panama Canal Treaties while denying any threat exists. Eerily echoing old Cold War left apologetics for military build-ups by the Evil Empire, one Clinton line has been to blame *American* self-defense for the Chinese communist dictatorship amassing huge new conventional military and nuclear capabilities. On March 17, Deputy National Security Adviser Gary Samore told the Carnegie Endowment in Washington: "If our policy convinces China that we are a threat, then that increases the possibility that China will devote the resources to significantly expand their strategic capabilities." Never mind the intrinsically warlike, expansionist impulse driving all communist enterprises; pay no attention to the insecurity of this tiny group of ruthless men enslaving a billion of their countrymen, men whose regime would have been toppled by Tiananmen Square's peaceful, pro-freedom demonstrators had George Bush supported them in any substantial way. Chinese communists become dangerous, Samore says, only if free peoples take steps to defend themselves. Samore's point is ridiculous on its face: the communist's aggressive military build-up is occurring *at the very time* the Clinton administration is bending over backwards not only to avoid threatening the Beijing tyranny, but to befriend and help it every way it can. I doubt the people of Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, the other countries of Asia, or even mainland China — not to mention Panama — all feeling the communist dragon's hot breath down their necks, agree with Samore. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CRITICUS

Say It Isn't So

BY G.B. TENNYSON

A GREAT DEAL of nonsense is written about the subject of anything," said Gertrude Stein. That old humbug claimed to have taught Hemingway how to write. If so, she has much to answer for, as it makes her the grandmother of the Hemingwayesque Dick and Jane books that have contributed so generously to America's attainment of something approaching universal illiteracy. Curiously, however, Stein did not take her own implied advice and instead wrote large amounts of turgid prose and poetry read today only by feminist academics and their captive student audiences in women's studies courses. The one gift Stein had was that of stating the obvious in an arresting way so that it seemed almost new again, as witness the opening sentence above. That translates simply into the common knowledge that there is a lot of silliness and misinformation out there. Likewise, "a rose is a rose is a rose" is quite simply a way of saying that a thing is what it is, though in fact what Stein wrote, and wrote three times in a poem, is simply "rose is a rose is a rose," without the first article. It sounds better in its popular revised form.

One of Gertrude Stein's most memorable and most often quoted simplifications was her statement about Oakland, California, that "there's no there there." This has been used repeatedly to denigrate Oakland as well as to describe other towns and places seen to be lacking in character and interest. In fact, Stein had fond memories of her childhood home in Oakland and was merely stating that when she went back all that life from her past was gone, rather like Thomas Wolfe lamenting that you can't go home again. Oakland, however, came to seem to so many a place lacking soul and charm that the expression was taken to mean that Oakland overall was an empty nothing. By extension "no there there" came to be applied to other places as well.

This phenomenon of terms and ideas being transformed and ultimately misunderstood, even turned on their heads, surely has a name in socio-linguistics, though I do not know what it is. It is something like folk etymology, whereby a word is presumed to derive from a source that it does not in fact derive from. Call it folk aggrandizement, folk revisionism, folk application. The simplest forms of this activity are those that refine a memorable statement in ways that are easier to remember or that conform to popular usage.

G.B. Tennyson, longtime member of the English Department at UCLA, is a frequenter of cemeteries, monuments, and institutions where memories linger.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Blood, Sweat, and Tears," "All that glitters is not gold," "Water, water everywhere / And not a drop to drink," "gild the lily." The actual expressions were: "Blood, Sweat, Toil, and Tears" (why did the public shy away from "toil?"), "all that glisters is not gold" ("glister" has dropped out of common speech), "Water, water everywhere / Nor any drop to drink" ("nor any" must have been too archaic for popular use), "to gild refined gold, to paint the lily" (simplification, one supposes, and of Shakespeare, by the way, not the Bible as often assumed).

The painting of Washington crossing the Delaware was rendered in Düsseldorf using the Rhine as the model for the river.

There are many other forms of change and distortion but even more of sheer misinformation. All of us know things that aren't true. Of course we think they are, and in some cases cling resolutely to our notions even when disproven. This is the stubborn mental equivalent of the useful Italian expression, *"se non e vero, e ben trovato"* — even if not true, it is well found, or well invented. Or put another way, if he didn't say that, he ought to have. In its most malign form, however, it can result in the refusal to accept plain facts because they clash with received opinion, especially if the plain facts are in disfavor of a cherished person or idea and nowadays even more if the plain facts are politically incorrect. The story of George Washington and the cherry tree is a harmless fiction created by an early Washington biographer. The false idea that Marie Antoinette said "Let them eat cake" is rather more sinister, certainly so for the reputation and ultimate fate of that unlucky lady. (It was first uttered fifteen years before the Queen was born.) To the extent that the storming of the Bastille emboldened French revolutionaries, those regicides were either misinformed or willfully seeking an excuse in that the Bastille at the time held only a tiny handful of prisoners, most of them aged and infirm and rather baffled by what was going on.

FOR THOSE who like to pursue the debunking of popular myths there are various collections devoted to just such clarifications. Two such, published twenty and more years ago by an English professor named Tom Burnam are still favorites of mine. They are titled, respectively, *The Dictionary of Misinformation* and *More Misinformation.* These compendia of ideal bathroom reading set the record straight on an abundance of mistaken notions, false etymologies, misquotations, and what are now known as urban myths (Burnam calls them "folk myths and fantasies"). Paul Revere did do a lot of riding about on behalf of the revolting colonists, but his famous journey triggered by the lights in the old North Church was actually undertaken in a small boat with the oars muffled by being wrapped in women's petticoats. And in the end he was arrested by the Redcoats anyway. The painting of Washington crossing the Delaware was rendered in Düsseldorf using the Rhine as the model for the river and showing a flag with thirteen stars that was not adopted until a year after Washington's crossing. As for flags (a Criticus preoccupation, as Constant Readers know, and one to which I shall return), The famous words "'Shoot if you must this old grey head / But spare your country's flag,' she said," were never uttered by Barbara Fritchie or anybody else. Stonewall Jackson's troops were never within three hundred yards of the Fritchie house and in any case the woman was 96 years old and absolutely bed-ridden. If an alternative story be true, then it was a younger woman who did the deed. But that same alternative legend also relates that the Confederates doffed their hats as they rode by and said, "To you, madam, and not to your flag." It's called chivalry.

As interesting as these tales of accidental or distorted history are those terms and ideas that have somehow reversed their meaning. Burnam reveals that the expression "Tell it to the Marines," which is taken to mean you can fool most people but you won't get away with fooling the Marines in fact originally meant the opposite. It derived from Sir Walter Scott who said, "You can tell that to the marines — the sailors won't believe it." Criticus can add on his own, for it is not in Burnam, that the expression to shoot oneself in the foot taken to mean an unusually inept

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deed, the equivalent of scoring an own goal, is a reversal of the meaning of the term from the First World War. Then it meant an intentionally self-inflicted wound in order to be relieved of combat and taken from the front, nothing accidental or inept about it, a subsequent lifelong limp being preferable to death.

The Confederates doffed their hats as they rode by and said, 'To you, madam, and not to your flag.'

MORE INTERESTING yet is misinformation in the making that we see around us daily, some innocent, some not so. A recent case in point is that of the apologies made on the Papal Middle Eastern trip. It is of course well known to Constant Readers that Criticus exhorted the Holy Father to eschew the whole business of apologies now sweeping the globe like those attacks of mass hysteria that afflict high school girls. Alas, my appeal was not heeded. However, what the Pope did say was widely misrepresented and will doubtless go down in its misrepresented form to provide material for a future Burnam to correct. The misrepresentation that the media indulged in was to state or imply that the Pope was apologizing for Holy Church herself and her misdeeds. This would have meant that the Pope was saying that the Bride of Christ had been in error and in sin, which is, from the Catholic point of view, doctrinally impossible. The Pope apologized for the misdeeds of individual Catholics throughout history, thus in effect saying that they had been untrue to their faith, not that the Church had done wrong. Surely this is going far enough, though evidently not far enough for those whose appetite for apology from others has now become the moral equivalent of an eating disorder.

More sinister, since more calculated, are the efforts to revise, rewrite and even obliterate history, efforts that have more than once been deplored by this column. One such effort that surfaced a year or so ago has resurfaced yet again. It is the perplexing demand that the word "squaw" be removed from place names. A year or so back the word was removed from place names in Montana and Minnesota. In Colorado the squawfish was renamed the Colorado pikeminnow. Now there are demands in the Maine Legislature that Squaw place names there be removed. Away with Squaw Pond, Big Squaw Mountain, Squaw Bay, and Big and Little Squaw townships! Why, you ask? "Squaw" is said to denigrate women. A Penobscot woman representative to the Maine Legislature testified, "I can say with 99 percent certainty, if you are a native woman and live on a reservation, you have heard the word and felt the sting and pain." But what is the sting and pain of Squaw?

When this squaw problem first came to Criticus's attention, he found in a now-forgotten source an explanation that seems to have vanished from all subsequent accounts but that may be the hidden subtext to it all. It is that the word actually has a meaning that designates a normally private portion of the female anatomy, so that, if properly rendered, we would have to say that that popular ski resort and winter Olympics site at Lake Tahoe is really Vaginal Valley, or even a coarser term. Well, then, what of the famous C.B. DeMille film *The Squaw Man* (the third film of that title)? How do we now render that? That once widespread term has always meant a white man married to an Indian woman, often one who has joined with and taken up the ways of the tribe. Nothing so wrong with that, one might think.

HOWEVER, CAN the scurrilous meaning really be true? Criticus devoted some time to checking reliable sources and is simply unable to confirm any such meaning. The Oxford English Dictionary knows it not. Nor does the great unabridged Webster's First. H.L. Mencken's *American Language* records no such meaning. All sources say it is an Algonquin, or Narragansett, or Delaware Indian word meaning an Indian woman and derivatively a word generally used among Indians as a term for any woman or female person. It certainly became widely used among whites as a term for an Indian woman. In Lewis and Clark's journals of their celebrated expedition Clark writes approving-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly of the bird woman Sacajawea whose image now graces the new dollar coin: "The squaw busied herself in search for the wild artichokes." There is no hint of vulgarity in his use of the word. The OED lists some dozens of terms with squaw in them, not one of them derogatory or sexually suggestive. There's squawberry, squaw bush, squaw mint, squaw winter, and others. Are we to imagine our noble savages foisting this term off among the palefaces as a kind of in-joke and maintaining a straight face for four centuries as their women are referred to by a vulgarism? If so, I think those women might want to look to their braves for restitution rather than to state legislatures.

One such effort to revise, rewrite, and even obliterate history is the perplexing demand that the word 'squaw' be removed from place names.

Even more disturbing in the current rush to revisionism was the case in February at the Command and General Staff college of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in which a thoroughly accurate display of memorabilia of black Confederate soldiers set up to honor Black History Month was ordered removed by the commanding officer of the college. It went up on January 30 and was covered with brown paper on February 1. By February 5 the display was removed. In all the back and forth no one denied the accuracy of the exhibit or any malign or negative dimension to it. There was simply the classic bureaucratic runaround. The real reason will be obvious to the dimmest intelligence.

All of which takes us back to the vexed Carolina Battle Flag issue and related matters. Criticus has largely had his say on this matter but feels constrained to add just a word or two more. As I write, the South Carolina Legislature is again wrestling with the issue and seems likely to remove the flag from its present location and place it elsewhere on the statehouse grounds. Should such a compromise be reached, it is bound to be short-lived. The next demand will be to remove the flag from whatever new location is chosen. Criticus is in possession of the official communication from the president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to the faithful suggesting a better compromise, if compromise there must be. That worthy lady proposes replacing the Battle Flag as the third flag above the statehouse with the Stars and Bars. Readers will remember from the previous column that the Stars and Bars was the official governmental flag of the Confederacy. This UDC proposal is unlikely to gain the support of our latter-day Jacobins. We now even have President Scalawag coming out from behind Janet Reno's trembling skirts where he has been hiding from Elian to take a position on the flag matter. Or almost. He says flying that flag remains a painful and divisive symbol. He might as well have said the same about any picture of Hillary.

As for the Critical defense of putting out more flags, it will come as no surprise to learn that Criticus has been accused by some readers of all manner of wickedness for his stand. Some suggested that he was doubtless a member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and surely the descendant of a slave owner, if not of Simon Legree. (Simon Legree, of course, was a Yankee, but we mustn't let facts get in the way.) Therefore in the interests of truth, Criticus feels obliged to declare that, though he has many Confederate cousins (as he has cousins of every stripe), he has no ancestor who ever owned slaves or who ever fought for the Confederacy. He is not eligible to be a member of the SCV. Criticus's ancestors were brooding by a distant northern sea during the Late Unpleasantness or gathering black currants in the Teutoburger Wald and probably nursing reminiscences of Wotan and regretting that he had ever been displaced.

To be sure, the late Madame Criticus did have slave owning ancestors and Confederate soldier ancestors, being as she was a direct descendent of the powerful master of the fabled Wye Plantation who owned and even possibly fathered the celebrated Frederick Douglass, making Madame Criticus a possible collateral kinswoman of a former slave. She was also a descendent of Francis Scott Key who wrote a poem about a flag. Like so many in this land that has forgotten history, Madame Criticus took rather little interest in these genealogical matters, so it has been left to Criticus himself to help

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

keep the ancient flame burning. Therefore on a recent trip to the East Coast on high academic pursuits Criticus went below the Mason-Dixon Line (happily marked on the highway as one crosses from vindictive Pennsylvania to ambivalent Maryland) to visit Confederate cousins and to make a tri-state five-cemetery pilgrimage to see how the Confederate dead are faring. But, please, let this be our secret; tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Askelon. It is this: even in the Border States there are Confederate flags in abundance fluttering in lowly hamlets and central town cemeteries. Some even fly the Battle Flag alone on the main staff in the center of the necropolis. It waves from the hilltop graves over the confluence of the Shenandoah and the Potomac where three states meet and the tree-covered hills and hollows roll away as far as the eye can see. "Look away, look away. . . ."

Victors and vanquished here lie together enfolded in that single party T.S. Eliot spoke of, and there is no reason to take away the symbols of either.

Allen Tate's "Ode to the Confederate Dead" (probably no longer permitted reading in the schools) is set in an elegiac, gray autumn, but Criticus's respect was paid in the spring when the redbud and the white dogwood were in rich bloom and the blue sky joined them so that the three echoed the colors of all American national flags. And there were other flags in these acres of memory, not least the current U.S. flag, though it was more to be seen on graves of twentieth-century dead than on those from The War, and Battle Flags outnumbered all others. But victors and vanquished here lie together enfolded in that single party T.S. Eliot spoke of, and there is no reason to take away the symbols of either.

As a final act of homage, Criticus through the kindness of cousins was able to make his way to a remote portion of Carroll County, Maryland, passing the little town of Burkittsville now famous for a silly little film. The real charm of the place is a nearby road up the mountain called Spook Hill. It is said locally that if your car fails to make the grade, the ghosts of Confederate soldiers will push it to the top. Thanks, Johnny Reb, but we were able on our own to push onward and reach the very sizable plantation known as Terra Rubra. Shades of Miss Scarlett! It means red earth. Here the U.S. flag flies in front of a monument to Francis Scott Key whose birthplace was indeed Terra Rubra. The property is privately owned, so we could not roam the premises to find where masters and slaves are buried. But everyone in Frederick, where Key himself is buried beneath a vast monument just feet from the row of stones and Battle Flags marking the Confederate veterans of the Battle of the Monacacy says of course Terra Rubra had slaves; you couldn't work a property that size without them.

My informants on this matter were faculty and staff of a Catholic high school with the engagingly old-fashioned name of St. John's Literary Institution at Prospect Hall (known semi-ironically to regulars simply as "The Institution"). They knew because Prospect Hall, which is large enough to house the entire school in what was a family dwelling place, was itself a plantation with a substantial complement of slaves. It was here that General George Meade took over command of the Army of the Potomac from the vacillating McClellan. The then owners of Prospect Hall cheerfully made the place available for this transfer because they were supporters of the Union. Of course, once their side had won, they had to give up the property, as it could no longer be worked without slaves. Well, what did they expect?

TERRA RUBRA by contrast appears to be still a working farm. At least one can see a large barn and several outbuildings as well as a tall silo along with the well-maintained gracious main house and many rolling acres on either side. Maybe the ghosts of the field servants from that other Institution known as the Peculiar One give modern tractors a push up the hill when needed. It would be a fitting counterpart to the soldiers at Spook Hill and a tribute to one of the scions of plantation aristocracy. I mean, of course, the one who wrote about that flag that now enfolds them all in a single party. And when the zealots say that Mr. Key's flag has no room for Mr. Lee's, remind them of Terra Rubra and say it isn't so. CPR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Defend Freedom of Conscience

If you believe that no government may legitimately tell us what to think about religion, morality, and politics; if you share our support for freedom of conscience, religious freedom, and free speech, then please use the form below to join us by adding your name as a signer to The Committee for Religious Freedom's Statement of Support for the three-judge panel decision in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission.*

This Committee, which needs everyone's support, includes nationally-known Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders: *First Things* Editor Rev. **Richard John Neuhaus**, nationally-known author Rabbi **Daniel Lapin**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Salt Lake City Most Rev. **George H. Niederauer**, *Life & Times* host **Hugh Hewitt**, Former U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican **William A. Wilson**, and Pastor **Laurence White** of Houston's Our Savior Lutheran Church. Please read our full statement and list of signers at our web site (www.cppf.org) or in *CPR's* Nov./Dec. 1999 issue.

These Religious and Community leaders support the January ruling in *Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Commission* which upholds First Amendment religious freedom guarantees against lawsuits that would force landlords to choose between sacrificing their livelihood or renting against their religious convictions to unmarried couples. That ruling is now under review by an 11-judge panel of the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals.

"Landlords are accused of violating civil rights if they object on religious grounds to being forced to choose between renting to unmarried couples or going out of business," our statement reads. "But is it not *their* freedom of conscience and *our own* First Amendment Religious Freedom rights that are under attack?" If you agree that these rights should be defended, please sign and return this form today. Thank you.

I support the Statement of The Committee for Religious Freedom.

Optional: ___ Please keep me informed of the Committee's activities.

_____ _____

Signature Date

_____

Daytime telephone

_____

24-hour FAX

_____

Name and mailing address

A California Public Policy Foundation project • P O Box 931 • Camarillo • CA 93011 • 805/445-9183 • www.cppf.org

Nothing written here necessarily reflects the opinions of The California Public Policy Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lions & Tigers & Donkeys. . .

Oh My!

In the political jungle even the mighty pachyderm needs some help finding the yellow brick road and fighting the never ending barrage of predators.

THE MONACO GROUP

The one-stop for all your campaign production needs when you don't have time to stop!

THE MONACO GROUP

701 East Ball Road
Suite 102
Anaheim, CA 92805
714-533-5180
FAX 533-5181

ALL YOUR PRINTING, PERSONALIZATION & MAILING NEEDS FOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND FUND RAISING

rcmj97

tyfswv

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED